

**ESTABLISHED 1887** 

An Interview With the Soviet Leader

### **Gorbachev to Ask Reagan for Joint Mars Mission**

### He Sees Flight as Way **To Long Cooperation**

By Jim Hoagland Washington Post Service

MOSCOW -- Mikhail S. Gorbachev will ask President Ronald Reagan to approve a joint Soviet-U.S. unmanned flight to Mars as the symbol of an ambitious new era of superpower cooperation on Earth and in space when the two men meet in Moscow this month.

In an extended interview here, Mr. Gorbachev expressed bope that he and Mr. Reagan would be able to sign an agreement before the president left office early next year that would require the superpowers to cut strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent. "I would certainly welcome that," the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party said, implying that he was willing to most Mr. Research at a fifth sumpting to a secretary

willing to meet Mr. Reagan at a fifth summit meeting to sign another arms control accord, even if it had to be left for Mr. Reagan's successor to send it to the Senate. Some of the Soviet leader's points were in written answers to questions submitted in writing two months ago, at the suggestion of Soviet officials,

Mr. Gorbachev rebuffed informal U.S. suggestions that some disputes be set aside temporarily to permit the strategic arms treaty to be completed and signed, saying it would be "senseless" to cut "strategic offensive forces in one area and at the same time launch an arms race in space or at sea."

He combined praise for Mr. Reagan and the "progress" they have made together on arms control with firm declarations that be is ready to continue the new era of "very Joint space research, he suggested, would help extend the friendly phase far into the future. "The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the

WASHINGTON (AP) ---

The United States has put a deal "on the table" for Pana-

ma's military ruler, General

Manuel Antonio Noriega, to

step down and leave the coun-

try "for a period of time," President Ronald Reagan's

national security adviser,

Lieutenant Colonel Colin

Powell, said Sunday on the CBS program "Face the Na-tion"

Under the proposal, the United States would continue

to recognize the ousted presi-

**New Impetus Sought** For Reform Program

#### By Gary Lee

Bushington Past Service MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev, speaking inti-mately and with conviction about his "grandiose" plan for political and economic reform, has acknowledged that his

campaign is entering a critical phase, mired in turbulence and oew problems but not without hope. Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that his reforms were facing "more difficulties than before." But, during a 90-minute interview with editors of The Washington Post and Neurstrate he managed with editors of the Washington Post and Newsweek, he appeared unfazed by the lack of substantive progress io the first three years.

Rather, the experience had brought him oew confidence because there was more intense intense interest by the people in seeing "an end to stagnation, an end to apathy." Mr. Gorbachev said the processes of openness and democratization have made him more confident that his

policies would succeed where those of Nikita S. Khru-shchev, the Soviet leader removed from office in 1964 during his own reform process, failed.

Asked whether he favored limiting the terms of leading Communist Party officials, including that of general secretary - a reform that could transform Soviet political life - Mr. Gorbachev answered, "Yes." He declined to comment further, indicating that it would be considered at a forthcoming meeting of party leaders. The issue of fixed terms for party officials, now commonly allowed to serve for life, has inspired debate in the Soviet media.

Mr. Gorbachev said he was looking forward to a crucial party conference, due to start on June 28, to review the program of economic restructuring, or perestroika, and to

See REFORMS, Page 6

## **Hungarian Communists Replace Kadar as Chief Of Party, Grosz Elevated**

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service BUDAPEST — Janos Kadar, who led Hungary from the suppression of its anti-Communist revolu-tion in 1956 to reforms of socialism that have become a model for the Soviet bloc, was removed from his post as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at a special party conference

Sunday. Mr. Kadar, who will turn 76 next week, was replaced by Karoly Grosz, 57, who will also continue in his previous post as prime minister. last December as the Communist leader of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Mr. Kadar was given the hooorary title of party president but was Grosz is considered to be an enerdropped from the ruling Politburo. getic and pragmatic politician who Mr. Grosz will lead a oew party Politburo and Central Committee has adopted Mr. Gorbachev's open purged of many of Mr. Kadar's longtime allies and seemingly shift-Mr. Grosz's selection was completed on the third day of a party ed toward proponents of rapid economic and political change.

meeting that heard some of the most open public debates held by an East bloc Communist party in Eight of the 13 members of the Kadar-led Politburo were dropped, along with 40 percent of the 100recent years. Party leaders said the conference should assure Hungamember Central Committee.

ry's place in the vanguard of efforts to reshape the Stalinist version of socialism with free-market eco-Among the six new Politburo members elected were the two best known advocates in Hungary of nomics and a more open political radical political reforms, Imre life\_ Pozsgay, chief of the Patriotic Peo-ple's Front, which represents mass Mr, Grosz, who built his career

and youth movements, and Rezso promised tolerance for opposition Nyers, architect of Hungary's first views within and ontside the party. economic reforms io the 1960s.

"I will do my best to implement a The leadership shift was the secprogram in the country so economond to take place in the six Soviet-allied nations of Eastern Europe ic and social problems are solved." he said Sunday on state television. lo a speech to the conference on since Mikhail S. Gorbachev took power in Moscow in March 1985. Unlike Milos Jakes, the conserva-tive and colorless politician chosen Saturday, he said he was aiming at expanding democratic procedures within the party to such an extent

as to match some of the "practical advantages" of Western multiparty In less than a year, Karoly Grosz gathered power and transformed Hungarian politics. Page 6. system

Mr. Grosz has rejected calls by a number of recently formed inde-pendent political clubs and social movements for their legal accep-tance and curtailment of the Communists' monopoly on power. At the same time, he has appeared to forge a political alliance with party liberals who support the groups and their demands

Several party officials said that during the early part of his rule, Mr. Grosz would probably focus on efforts to end the country's prolonged economic stagnation while limiting political change. At the same time, the independent and opposition groups may continue to benefit from tacit tolerance, offi-

cials said. While serving as prime minister, Mr. Grosz pushed for the National Assembly's acceptance of a three-year economic stabilization program last September, including such austerity measures as cuts in subsidies, the closure of inefficient state companies at the cost of moderate unemployment, and the grad-ual raising of prices and wages to

world market levels. He also pushed through a gov-crament reorganization last December, and last week he complet-ed work on a stabilization program with the International Monetary Fund, which will pay Hungary \$350 million to belp with payments on its \$10 billion foreign debt.

Mr. Kadar, who led Hungary through long years as an isolated and occasionally beleaguered pioneer of economic reform after 1968, nevertheless was seen as an obstacle to further change during his last years in power. Widely blamed for the country's growing economic problems, he resisted mounting pressure to retire and even during the party conference change reportedly agreed at a Polit-buro meeting last Tuesday. On Sunday night, Mr. Kadar opened the session that announced his retirement and received a standing ovation from the 940 delegates as his new honorary post was announced. In a brief statement, he said the conference had committed itself to progress and thanked de-parting leaders. He did oot coogratulate Mr. Grosz. The party's political platform cootains plans for decentralization of decision making within the party and government, more democratic voting procedures in party organizations, limits on tenure in schior posts, and other moderate reforms. Despite considerable criticism at the conference of Hungary's present situation, Mr. Kadar's overall record of leadership continues to be praised by even the most liberal party leaders. A minister of interior during the repressive Stalinist period, Mr. Kadar was installed by Moscow as Hungarian leader as Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest on Nov. 4, 1956. Days earlier, Mr. Kadar had disappeared from the capital after initially supporting initiatives by Prime Minister Inte Nagy to form a multiparty government and withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. During the following five years, Mr. Kadar oversaw a sometimes brutal "oormalizatioo" of the country, including the trial and hanging of Mr. Nagy and other revolution leaders. Following an amnesty in 1963, however, Mr. Kadar shifted to a policy of seeking compromise and consensus.



By Bill Keller New York Times Service MOSCOW - The Communist

Party leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan have been dismissed after fresh outbreaks of ethnic tension in the two southern republics, the official press agency Tass reported.

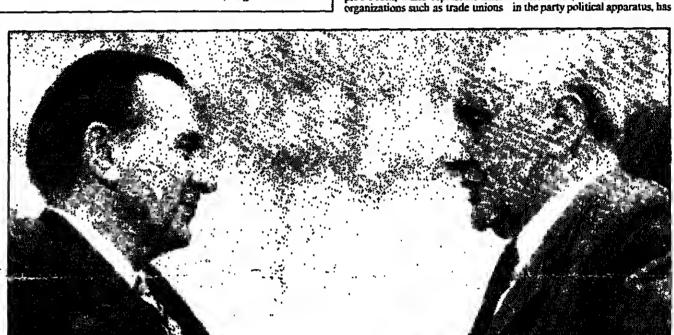
The removal Saturday of the Armenian leader, Karen S. Demir-chian, and the Azerbaijani chief, Kyamran I. Bagirov, reflected high-level impatience in Moscow with the continuing tensions in the two republics, where civil unrest zirov, a diplomat who has served first broke out in February.

beavy attack in the Soviet press even before the disturbances began this year.

In June, Mr. Gorbachev said that political and economic changes in Armenia were "stuck in a rut," and be criticized Mr. Demirchian for "totally unjustified complacency" toward corruption.

Mr. Demirchian successfully resisted an attempt by the Armenian party central committee to remove him in December.

In Baku, Abdul-Rahman Vemost recently as ambassador to Pakistan, was named as the Azerbai-





The Soviet leader comes across as careful and controlled, during and open, but with a sense of how far to go. Page 4.

winds of hope," Mr. Gorbachev said. "Let us cooperate to master the cosmos, to fulfill big programs ... worthy of the Soviet and American peoples," he added as he disclosed the Mars proposal.

The Soviet leader, who is 57, is a man of medium height, See GORBACHEV, Page 6

CALERIZ VOI CASER IN Panama rather than General LA CITA AGIN Noriega's choice, Manuel So-lis Palma (Earlier article, Page 3) MONDAY Q&A \$ 3735 120F. "T. 3 LEGAL SERVICE 5 0 CROS N 11 12 : \* SELLER LEGAL ASSOUR DIVERCE IN ONE DE



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tion alone is no panacea for currency stability. Page 2. Page 4 FOR MOR **General Nows** CLASSIFIE A study shows that more treat-

ment is needed after all surgery for breast cancer. Page 2. Classified Ad Quickly and Ba Clint Eastwood's latest film applauded at Cannes. Page 7. ATIONAL HERALD TRIBUN

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AUSTRAL States (S. 2005)

NEW ZEALA

MiDDLE

FAREAS

Business / Finance

Lucky Stores accepted a sweetened takeover bid from American Stores for \$2.51 bil-Page 9. tion.

Takeshi Ohta of the Bank

of Japan says that interven-

lent, Eric Arturo Delvalle, as After a meeting of the ruling Politouro in Moscow on Thursday, jani party leader. the legitimate authority in senior members of the Kremlin leadership flew to the southern republics to take part in the meetings that removed the two men, accord-

ing to Tass. After a period of relative calm, huge street demonstrations report-

the Armenian capital of Yerevan, the Azerbaijani capital of Baku, and the disputed territory of Na-gorno-Karabakh, a mountamous region governed by Azerbaijan but populated primarily by Armenians.

The renewed unrest comes at a critical juncture for Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the national Communist Party leader, who is trying to consolidate his control over the party in time for a crucial party conference in late June.

Tass said Mr. Demirchian, who has headed the Armenian Communist Party for 14 years, and Mr. Bagirov, the Azerbaijani leader since 1982, had been relieved of their duties "for reasons of health."

But the timing strongly suggest-ed that the new disturbances in the southern republics bad given Mr. lems of the past.

Although the party and the gov-ernment maintain ostensibly separate bureaucracies, the party chiefs in fact outrank their government counterparts. The new Armenian party leader

is Suren G. Arutiunian 49. a party functionary who was most recently the deputy head of the Armenian government

Mr. Demirchian, 56, was under

The removal of Mr. Bagirov, 55, was foreshadowed by recent press reports blaming him for allowing the growth of ethnic hatred that led to bloody rioting in February in the Azerbaijani port city of Sumgait. Because of the explosive tensions

edly broke out anew last week in in the region, the Kremlin had little

See ETHNIC, Page 6

Karoly Grosz, left, talking Sunday with Janos Kadar at a party meeting in which Mr. Grosz replaced Mr. Kadar as Hungary's leader.

### **U.S. Conservatives Helping Mozambican Rebels**

By Robert Pear and James Brooke

men, ideological conservatives and evangelical Christian missionaries have joined forces in an effort to ing anti-Communist insurgents. aid rightist guerrillas fighting the Marxist government of Mozam-But after a bitter struggle, they

have failed to persuade President Ronald Reagan to provide assis-Gorbachev an excuse to replace tance to the insurgents, whom the two men associated with the prob-administration has in recent months depicted as ruthless bandits.

The trial in Mozambique of an Australian missionary who confessed that he used to work for the rebel group, and statements by several defectors, have shed new light

New York Times Service their lobbying in the United States, The document infuriated Ameri-WASHINGTON — A small and their dismay at what they see can lobbyists for Renamo, who bers of the Reagan administration of the Reagan doctrine of support-Thomas W. Schaaf Jr., ext Thomas W. Schaaf Jr., executive director of the Mozambique Re-Administration officials say they search Center in Washington, has have been surprised by the tenacity registered with the Justice Depart-

of the guerrilla group, the Mozamment as an American agent for bique National Resistance, often called Renamo, But the adminis-Renam He told the Justice Department tration says it will not deal with the that he has "conveyed messages rebels, much less supply them with and letters" of unspecified content American-made weapons of the to people in the United States from type provided to insurgents in AI- Afonso Dhlakama, the military

commander of Renamo in Mozamanistan and Angola. The State Department virtually bique. Mr. Schaaf works closely eliminated any chance that Ren- with Luis B. Serapiao, Renamo's amo would receive aid from the chief spokesman in the United U.S. government when it issued a States. report last month asserting that Mr. Schaaf said that a conserva-

on its links to supporters in the United States. In interviews in Washington and in Mozambique, those supporters recounted their exploits in the Afri- en, mutilated, starved, sbot, in Washington. In addition, Mr. ies and other supplies to the rebels.

can bush, their efforts to supply stabled or burned to death, the field radios and Bibles to the rebels, their lobbying in the United States, The document infuriated Ameri-

James U. Blanchard 3d, a Louisi- rebel leader. group of wealthy U.S. business- as the betrayal by influential mem- said it was politically motivated and businessman, said he started Freedom Inc. gave \$15,000 to the providing assistance to Renamo in Mozambique Research Center this 1986 by purchasing medical sup- year, according to people who work plies and radios for the rebel group. for both organizations. He said he contributes about

There are no direct telephone \$3,000 a month to advance the links from Western countries to guerrilla group's interests. For ex- Renamo-controlled areas of Moimple, be said, he helps pay for the zambique. Mr. Crocker said last Washington operations of the Mo- year that "Renamo's external wing

zambique Research Center and has been beset by divisions and provides cash payments to promi- appears to lack reliable links to the nent Mozambican refugees sympa-Renamo leadership inside Mozamthetic to Renamo. bique."

Mr. Blanchard estimated that be But Mr. Schaaf said that he and had given a total of \$50,000 to \$75,000 to aid Renamo in the last Mr. Serapiao communicated with Renamo leaders inside the southtwo years.

east African country by making telephone calls to Zimbabwe and Robert C. MacKenzie, executive director of a conservative group other countries on the border. From those countries, be said, Renamo supporters send radio messages to the rebels inside Mozam-

See REBELS, Page 2

### Weary Lebanese Shiites | Death of a Jazzman: Last Notes on Trumpeter Chet Baker Turn Hostile to Tehran



BEIRUT - An increasing turnamong whom Iran has enjoyed wide popularity, have become hostile toward Tehran, which they blame for relentless factional fight-ing in the southern suburbs of Bei-RUL

Fundamentalist militianco of Hezbollah, the Party of God, which is financed and equipped by Iran, exchanged fire with mortars and other weapons on Sunday with the mainstream Shrite militia, Amal, a group backed by Syria. The police said six persons were killed in the 7th straight day of fighting. The Shiltes, with 1 million adher-

ents, make up Lebanon's largest sectarian community. As the fighting continued Saturday, the supreme Shiite religious justice here was quoted as accusing the Tehran authorities of wanting to subject

the Shiite community to their tute-

lage. "Our fight is not with the Party BEIRUT - An increasing turn-ber of Lebanon's Shiite Moslems, of God; it is with the Islamic Re-among whom Iran has enjoyed public of Iran," Sheikh Abdel Amir Qabalan, who holds the title of grand multi of the Shiites of Lebanon, said in an interview with the West Beirut weekly magazine Al

Shiraa "Leave us alone before it is too late," he was quoted as declaring to the Iranians.

It was the sharpest public criticism of Iran to date by a senior Lebanese Shite cleric. Sheikh Qabalan is affiliated with Amal, but in the past be had spoken favorably

More than 250 Shiites have been killed and well over 1,000 wounded in the carnage in the southern dis-

The dead and dying are shown

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about links with Iran.

tricts.

nightly on television programs that See TEHRAN, Page 7



#### By Mike Zwerin al Herald Tribune

AMSTERDAM --- Marking eras by some event or other is bound to he arbitrary, but it can be said that the myth of the bebop junkie, the image of jazz and drugs band in hand, died along with Chet Baker when he fell out of the window of a hotel near the drug dealers' area on Zeedijk at 3:00 A.M. on Friday the 13th.

Peter Huyts, his road manager, identified the body in the morgue. Chet (he must be called Chet, Baker alone won't work. Chet was his pianissimo, swinging sound, there are many Bakers but there was only one Chet) had disappeared into the drug subculture for two days before his death at 58. When he did not arrive for a radio broadcast in Laren the evening of May 12, Huyts had a premonition. "Sooner or later something was bound to happen," be said. "Everybody knew that."

An autopsy ruled out physical violence, the hotel room door had been locked from the inside and drugs were found in it, which seems to exclude foul play. The results of the blood test are not yet known, but it is widely assumed that there will be traces of drugs in Chet Baker's blood. The police did not rule out suicide although, like most people who knew him, Huyts doubts it: "It was a bot night, be was

probably just sitting on the window sill and nodded out. One time too many. I picked up his things at the hotel later. His clothes were neatly folded in his suitcase. Somebody about to commit suicide doesn't

Eglal Fahri, who owns the Parisian club New Morning where Chet appeared at least once a month, said: "We always did good business with Chet. I think one reasoo was that people thought each time

might be the last." May 5 turned out to be it. The German pianist Joachim Kuhn sat in with Chet that night. "He seemed very tired," Kuhn recalled. "It was so sad. I remember thinking that this can't go on much long-

Chet was one of the first generation of masters who created the powerful American urban music that came to be called bebop. He was the last of them to remain faithful to heroin, long after the others had cleaned up or died young. It was a love affair more than a habit.

Chet was no revolutionary. He was responsible for no dramatic breakthroughs on a level with Charlie Parker or Dizzy Gillespie. But his sound, certain turns of phrases and where and how he placed notes have entered the vocabulary. He touched you in a

See CHET, Page 7



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Christian Rose/198

## Bank of Japan Official Sees Currency Stability - for Now

Takeshi Ohta has been an official at and the the Bank of Japan for almost three decades. As deputy governor for international relations, Mr. Ohta, 58, is currently the third-ranking official at the central bank, and is closely involved in its cooperative efforts on issues such as exchange and interest rates. He spoke last week in Tokyo with Patrick L. Smith of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. Are you confident of continued exchange-rate stability? Based on recent trade figures, many analysts say another round of yea appreciation could come soon after the Toronto summit of Western leaders in June.

A. Major countries are now prepared to cooperate in maintaining exchange rates. since stability is the prerequisite for noninflationary growth in the world economy. The markets have confidence in this, and in the continued improvement of economic fundamentals, especially in the United States. There is also confidence in the markets about investors' behavior and the continued flow of capital into the els. But if we have an oil crisis, a financial United States. In the long term, however, crisis or a sharp depreciation of the yen as long as the Japanese external surplus -none of which is likely - some impact

and the U.S. deficit remain large, pres-sure on the yen is rather inevitable. Q. Japan's hasic balance for the first quarter of 1988 turned positive for the first time in almost five years, meaning the country is now taking in more money than it is putting out. Are you concerned? A. We're not much worried about this. The most important things are the current account and the trade account, and both showed declines. Yes, the net outflow of long-term capital slowed in the first quarter. But late last year foreigners were selling stock, while in the first quarter of this year they were buying.

Q. Although Japan's indicators remain positive, just how long can domestic demand be sustained? Are you concerned that the nation may not continue playing the role it assumed after the Plaza accord of 1985, to stimulate its economy? A. I'm confident about the economy for the rest of 1988. Our performance recently has been better than expected, due to private consumption, public spending, housing and construction starts, corporate fixed investment and inventory lev-

have intervened in support of the dollar, there is little sign of inflation outside the United States. But is liquidity fueling financial-asset inflation - stock prices and property values - in Japan and elsewhere?

A. Liquidity has caused high returns on financial investments, it's true. But mon-

#### MONDAY O&A

cy-supply growth [in Japan] has been partly the result of financial liberalization, with money shifting from the nonbanking sector to the banking sector. The relationship between money supply and real economic activity has become more vague than it used to be, and we can't simply link money supply to inflation. We have to recognize the risk, but it's not imminent

Q. The Bank of Japan seems to be increasingly impatient with the need to intervene to help clean up a mess it sees as essentially of America's making. Can you respond?

in the long term would be inevitable. Q. Despite substantial growth in money supply in Japan and other countries that most completely integrated. If something happens in one market, the impact would almost instantaneously spill over. We aren't unhappy to continue to cooperate; it's in our interest, too. But continued cooperation on macroeconomic policies is absolutely important. Unless we can expect this, we cannot intervene indefinitely. Intervention is not a panacea for

the stability of exchange rates. A. How easily will Japanese hanks be able to adjust to new international standards on capital adequacy? If leading banks are dramatically short of capital. this suggests that asset growth will have to be severely restricted, at least for some.

A. True, to achieve the agreed ratio banks will have to enhance their capital bases and adjust the growth of assets at the same time. We expect an agreement on this between the banks and the monetary authorities by the end of June. My feeling is they are fully prepared to accept this, since they are anxious to be good players in world markets. Of course, the situation is different bank by bank, but yes, it will

cost them enormously to do it. Q. Japan has been seeking greater influ-

ence in the Asian Development Bank. Why? Does this constitute a kind of confrontation with the United States? A. There should be no difficulty for European and American people to understand the close relationship between Japan and the Asian region. Under the Reagan administration, there has been more policy emphasis on the private sector and not on state-owned or nationalized industries. But how many Asian corporations could really be privatized? There are some recional features to this issue. But "confrontation" is a bit exaggerated.

Q. How do you feel about a proposed "Marshall Plan" for the Philippines? It would be difficult to separate politics and economics, as Japan insists must be the

A. It's a colorful kite, but I question whether a Marshall Plan is really necessary. The important points are to persnade the Philippines to continue its adjustment process, to persuade the Japanese commercial banks and others to continue cooperating and to persuade the international organizations, as well as Japan, the United States and other gov-ernments to accept more hurden sharing. The economy has deteriorated, but it has

gence analyst for 10 years.

in Lisbon com-

a solid base.

### **U.S. Panel Urges Shift** To a Scaled-Down SDI

By R. Jeffrey Smith

Washington Post Service WASHINGTON - The Reagan administration's plan for a spacehased shield against Soviet missiles is too risky and should initially be scaled hack to a more limited, ground-based missile defense, a senior Defense Department advisory panel has said.

Such a system, which might include the deployment of missile in-terceptors around Washington, percent of incoming warheads. would initially provide only a "thin" defense of U.S. territory, according to the report.

But the nine-member panel. headed by Robert Everett, chairman of the Defense Science Board,

### **Treaty Delay** No Tragedy, Moscow Says

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches Gerasimov, the chief spokesman plan.

the accord banning medium-range lar recommendation earlier this missiles before the summit meet- year hy Senator Sam Nunn, Demoing, but it would not be a tragedy if crat of Georgia, who is chairman of

that failed to happen, "It is not a big tragedy," said Mr. Gerasimov. "We simply expect that if you promise, then you must de-liver. But we also understand your will be crucial to congressional ac-critical and the shift have ar-gued that Mr. Nunn's endorsement will be crucial to congressional ac-critical and the shift have ar-gued that Mr. Nunn's endorsement will be crucial to congressional ac-critical and the shift have ar-gued that Mr. Nunn's endorsement will be crucial to congressional ac-critical and the shift have ar-gued that Mr. Nunn's endorsement will be crucial to congressional ac-critical and the shift have ar-or and the shift have ar-the shift have ar-t television.

added that this limited defense could later be expanded into the "star wars" missile shield currently being pursued by the Pentagon. The high-level, independent panel said this step-by-step approach offered more flexibility and reliability than the current Strategic Defense Initiative plan to deploy hundreds of space-based weapons in the mid-1990s in the first phase

of a system aimed at stopping 30 The panel said that one of the "risky" parts of the plan was trying to create a space-based system so that all its elements were ready at the same time.

Although Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci had earlier praised the advisory group's work, the Pentagon said Friday that "the submission of the report to the secretary in no way signals a change in U.S. policy" with respect to SDI. The agency also denied that public release of the report Friday signaled the government's intention to move toward an "early" deploy-Compiled by Our Staff From Disputcher WASHINGTON — Gennadi I. in any overall missile protection

for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said Sunday that the Kremlin hoped the U.S. Senate would ratify their recommendation was a simi-

political system." Mr. Gerasimov ceptance of missile defenses and was interviewed in Moscow by U.S. that a limited defense could serve

Senate approval of the INF costly and elaborate space weapons Treaty, which President Ronald envisioned hy President Ronald

Charles A. Krans/The Americand Pres

Kn Klux Klansman during a brief march Saturday in Parkside, Pennsylvania, a Philadelphia suburb, as another Klansman moves in to help. Police, who outnumbered Klansmen 4 to 1, arrested her, as well as a Klansman. About 50 members, only balf wearing robes and boods, paraded before a hostile crowd.



### **Israeli Arms Role Cited** In Chinese-Saudi Deal

had gone to China using fake Phil-ippine passports and said that the By David B. Ottaway Washington Post Service ippine passports and said that the WASHINGTON - Israeli ex- trip had been cleared at the highest

perts working secretly in China level of the Israeli government, the since the early 1980s were involved paper reported. in improving the guidance system It said the Israelis had struck a in improving the guidance system of medium-range missiles for Saudi deal to provide China with ad-Arabia that are capable of striking vanced missile technology and ar-any part of Israel, according to mor-piercing devices. There were U.S. commercial sources and Saudi indications that Israel was also any part of Israel, according to U.S. commercial sources and Saudi helping China to develop a new experis.

Israeli leaders have publicly ex- fighter jet using technology derived pressed alarm about the presence from the canceled Lavi fighter, the in Saudi Arabia of the Chinese- paper said. There have also been reports that built CSS-2 missiles, which were

developed originally hy Beijing to Israeli experts helped the Chinese carry nuclear warheads. The Saudis and Chinese say that tanks and worked on the developthe missiles acquired by the Saudis ment of Chinese tactical missiles, have been modified to carry only a anoraft and artillery, according to conventional explosive. The CSS-2 Morton S. Miller, the author of the

Morton S. Miller, the author of the has a potential range of about 1,600 U.S. Arms Control and Disarmamiles (2,500 kilometers), enough to ment Agency's report on world milreach every military site in Israel. itary expenditures and arms trans-Israeli technology and expertise, fers, published last month. therefore, have contributed to the "The Israelis are involved in development of a weapon the Israe-

most of the weapons modification programs in China," Mr. Miller li government regards as a major new threat and a destabilizing facsaid tor in the Middle East. Mr. Miller has just retired from The sources were divided on the State Department's Bureau of whether the Israeli experts knew Intelligence and Research where he

that the modified missile was deswas a senior arms transfer intellitined for Saudi Arabia, or whether they thought that China was selling it to Iran or Iraq, the two major recipients of Chinese arms exports. China and Saudi Arabia went to

**REBELS:** great lengths to keep the missile sale a secret. U.S. intelligence did Aid From U.S. not obtain convincing evidence about it until early this year. The Saudi amhassador to the

(Continued from Page 1) United States, Prince Bandar bin bique. Renamo has an extensive Sultan, conducted negotiations for radio network connecting its headthe missiles with the Chinese, con- quarters and bases in Mozamb cealing the talks from Washington. In a recent interview, Panlo Oli-Prince Bandar refused to discuss veira, a member of Renamo from reports that Israelis were involved 1981 to 1987, said that representa-

UN Soldier Kills a Turkish Cypriot NICOSIA, Cyprus (Combined Dispatches) - An Austrian soldier

serving with the United Nations Force in Cyprus has shot and killed a Turkish Cypriot man in the village of Pyla in the first fatal shooting involving the UN force since it arrived on the island in 1964. Cyprus television said that the man, Hussein Kafa, who was said to be

in his 60s, had fired first at the soldier on Saturday, and that the soldier then fired three shots, killing Mr. Kafa. The Austrian was wounded and was taken to Larnaca Hospital, five kilometers (three miles) from Pyla, the television said.

Rauf Denktash, the leader of the breakaway Torkish Cypriot republic, said Sunday that the future of the peacekeeping force had been thrown into question by the killing. He said the shooting followed several weeks of harassment of Mr. Kafa by Austrian soldiers. However, a UN spokesman described Mr. Kafa as a troublemaker. The spokesman said Mr. Kafa was shot after he opened fire and seriously wounded an Austrian lieutenant who went to question him. (AP, Reuters)

### Mitterrand Vows Unity in 2d Term

PARIS (AP) — President François Mitterrand has begun his second seven-year term, promising to formulate policy aimed at uniting fellow Socialists with non-Socialists.

Speaking Saturday during a 20-minute inauguration ceremony at the Flyste Palace, Mr. Mitterrand said his re-election on May 3, when he defeated Jacques Chirac, a conservative who later resigned as prime minister, "was not the good ones winning over the bad ones, nor the other way around."

He called on French people to work together "so that the principle of hope might triumph over the compulsions of fear and confrontation." Mr. Mitterrand, 71, has called legislative elections for June 5, with the runoff June 12. Socialists, backing the new prime minister, Michel Rocard, are expected to win a large majority in the National Assembly.

#### **Police and Kwangju Protesters Clash**

KWANGJU, South Korea (Reuters) - South Korean riot police clashed Sunday with thousands of protesters in this southwestern city, firing tear gas to hold back anti-government and anti-American rallies. The demonstrators, chanting and hurling rocks and gasoline bombs, were demanding a full-scale inquiry into the army's crushing in Kwangin of a 1980 revolt directed against martial law. Officials say about 200 people died in the 1980 uprising, but dissidents say the death toll was at ast 1,000.

Scores of protesters were arrested Sunday, but there were no reports of injuries. The clashes, which lasted about four hours, halted traffic m much of the city. Clouds of tear gas hung over the city center and streets were littered with rocks, broken bottles and spent tear-gas canisters, Many demonstrators participated earlier in a student tribute at a ceme-tery where about 100 victims of the 1980 uprising are buried.

### **Aquino Guard Kills 12 in Rampage**

MANILA (Resters) A drunken member of President Corazon C. Aquino's security guard ran amok and shot to death 12 persons, including three children, the police said Sunday. The police said Sergeant Marciano Contace, who has disappeared, shot

and killed four companions, including two fellow marines who also were temporary members of the presidential security guard, with his pistol while drinking with them Saturday night in a Manila suburh.

The sergeant then went to his house nearby, where he got a rifle and fired at people in the street, apparently without hitting anyone. But at a neighbor's house, he killed a family of eight, three of them children, the military said. The president's guard is a select and independent unit of the armed forces, which guards the presidential palace and escorts the president on out-of-town visits.

#### **Ex-Singapore President Assails Lee**

SINGAPORE (IHT) - A former Singapore head of state accused the government of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on Sunday of creating in Singapore "an incredible economic success married to an abysmal politi-

Singapore "an incredible economic success married to an abysmai point-cal style which does not tolerate any dissent." C.V. Devan Nair, president from 1981 to 1985 and a founding member of Singapore's ruling party, asserted that the arrest and re-arrest of several dozen well-educated Singaporean dissidents since 1987 was in-tended to prevent a more effective political opposition from emerging. "I think the whole thing stinks to high heaven," Mr. Nair said in an interview from his home here that was broadcast by BBC radio. Although Mr. Nair delivered a similar broadcide last user his respected criticien is

Mr. Nair delivered a similar broadside last year, his renewed criticism is threatenting to the government, analysts said, because he is seen as someone around whom an opposition movement could coalesce.

### For the Record

Protesters marched through central Madrid on Sunday in opposition to government plan to join the Western European Union, the defense forum that promotes European military cooperation. The police said 2,000 people took part in the protest by leftist political parties, trade unions and pacifist groups. Organizers said 5,000 participated, (AP)



KLAN CRITIC ARRESTED - A woman grabs the bood of a

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Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, signed in Washington in December, has been held up hy disputes over the pact's verification provisions. Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of

Georgia, a leading figure in the Treaty of 1972. debate, gave the treaty a 60-40 Friday.

plan would avoid legal controversy by initially confining the program to ground-based defenses permit-ted by the Anti-Ballistic Missile The treaty allows the United change, the National Cancer Insti-

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EBEI

The Architects of Time

chance of getting through before States and the Soviet Union up to tute is recommending that all wom-100 missile interceptors at one site. en who have hreast cancer should On another issue, Mr. Nunn said The Soviets are modernizing such a have chemotherapy or hormonal his interest in a vice presidential system around Moscow, while the therapy after initial surgery, even if nomination was "very, very low." United States ahandoned a similar there is no evidence that the cancer (Reuters, IHT) system in North Dakota in 1975. has spread.

## The panel emphasized that its Is Urged After Surgery

By Gina Kolata New York Times Service

stitute previously had said there NEW YORK - In a major was no reason to administer drug therapy to most women who had surgery for early breast cancer if there is no sign the cancer has spread to the lymph nodes.

The latest advice was hased on new evidence that women who received drug therapy were much less likely to have a recurrence. In an unusual effort to reach physicians quickly, the institute sent a letter to 13,000 cancer specialists last week, rather than waiting for publication of the studies.

The recommendation is based on

three unpublished studies. The in-

Dr. Vincent T. DeVita Jr., director of the institute, said the overwhelming majority of the 60,000 women diagnosed each year with early breast cancer do not receive chemotherapy or hormonal therathat blocks the action of estrogen, a female sex bormone that encourages growth of some tumors. Many experts have thought that in cases of early breast cancer the chances of a recurrence after surgery were so small that patients would not benefit from treatment with powerful drugs. However, recent evidence indicates that up to 33 percent of women with early

cancer who did not have additional therapy have a recurrence. Dr. Diane Fink, vice president

for professional education at the American Cancer Society, agreed with the institute's decision. "This is exciting and important."

she said. "We can't keep it under WTaps."

Breast cancer specialists noted, however, that the new research provided no guidance for women who have had surgery for early breast cancer in the past but who did not have additional treatment.

Dr. DeVita said that he would cancer who had surgery less than missile division of the Israeli mili- and other forms of assistance to the six months ago and did not have tary industries. additional drug therapy to consider

MEMORIAL FOR BUDDY WEISS

Friends of the former Editor of the Herald Tribune,

who died on March 12

are invited to a memorial gathering in his honor

at the IHT offices at 181, ave, Charles-de-Gaulle, Neully,

on Thursday May 26, between 1 and 3 p.m.

Those planning to attend

are requested to call Anik Cretu: 46 37 94 02.

drug treatment now. He added. domsky, confirmed in an interview signed hy South Africa and Mo-"It's a judgment call." in Israel that he and his colleagues zambique in 1984.

in modifying the missiles tives of the gr The sources, who asked not to be municated with their colleagues in

identified because some of them South Africa using a telecopier and "a military cipher machine." Mr. work in Saudi Arabia, said that some of the Israeli experts had been Oliveira used to be Renamo's using false Philippine passports spokesman in Lisbon, a good listhat were traced to the Philippine tening post for developments in consulate in Jeddah. Mozambique because Portugal is

Saudi Arabia and China have the former colonial ruler. In Mozambique the Australian provided few details about the missile deal. They have said that in the missionary, Ian Grey, was recently process of modifying the missile to scatteneed to 10 and a half years in carry a conventional warbead, its prison after having been convicted range has been somewhat short-ened. These modifications would efforts to help Renamo. Mr. Grey normally require changes in the said among other things, that he guidance system as well, U.S. ex- had carried messages between Renperts sav. ano guerrillas and their American

The CSS-2 is a first-generation supporters, a charge denied by the missile that is not known for its Americans. accuracy. The Saudis have told Mr. Grey was a member of She-U.S. officials they wanted it mainly to create a credible deterrent to kinah Ministrics, a Pentecostal organization that has been active in Iranian threats of missile attacks areas of Mozamhique controlled hy on oil and other targets in Saudi Renamo

Mr. MacKenzie, who is an Arabia The extent of Israeli involvement py, which involves use of a drug in China's booming arms export Army paratrooper in Vietoam and trade has remained secret. Howevthen worked in a unit of the Rhodeer, the case of an Israeli husinesssian Army, the Special Air Service, man who was arrested in mid-De- that gave training and tactical adcember in Hong Kong with five vice to members of Renamo in the false Philippine passports has pro- late 1970s. In 1979, he led a raid on vided some insight into the Israelan oil storage depot at the port of China arms connection Beira, in Mozambique. The Israeli, Zvi Gafni, told the In 1980, after Rhodesia had be-

police in Hong Kong that the pass-ports were used by five Israeli husi-Zimbabwe, South Africa took over come the independent country of nessmen to travel to Beijing in No- sponsorship of Renamo. Mr. Macvember and that he was holding Kenzie joined the South African them in case they returned. Mr. Army and continued to train and Gain's lawyer implied that the five advise members of Renamo until were involved in arms dealings hut 1981. refused to disclose any details. Renamo asserts that all its weap-

On May 6, Mr. Gafni was senons and ammunition, including tenced to two years in prison in machine guns, mortars, rockets and grenade launchers, have been cap-Hong Kong on a variety of charges. including possession of false pass-ports, an illegal stun gun and maritured from Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops fighting for the iuana.

The Sunday Times of London Mr. Schaaf says the rebels receive published on April 3 a detailed in- no aid from South Africa. vestigation into the Gafni case. The American and Mozambican offipaper identified the five Israelis in- cials say that South African milivolved in the November mission, tary intelligence has continued to advise women with early breast and said they were experts in the provide equipment, intelligence

rebels, even though such aid was to One of the five, Israel Ra- have ended under an agreement

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A 70-year-old white farmer was burned to death near Greylingstad, 80, kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Johannesburg, when blacks set his house afire and stoned it, the police said Sunday. (Reuters)

At least 57 people fied and more than 160 were injured in flooding from a storm that hit parts of China's Fujian Province Friday night and Saturday, the official Xinhua press agency said Sunday. (UPI)

### TRAVEL UPDATE

In a demonstration, more than 600 rowboats sailed on masse the canals of Venice on Sunday to protesst against motorboats and other modern inventions that pollute the water.

A brawl broke out on a P&O ferry crossing the English Channel, and the crew was forced to return to port at Cherbourg, France, where 13 young British men were arrested, French immigration police said Sunday. (AP)

#### This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Andorra, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Central Alrican Republic, Denmark, East Germany, France, Gabon, Grenada, Iceland, Ivorv Coast, Jamaica, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Monaco, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Rwanda, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, West

TUESDAY: Belize, Bulgaria, Ecuador

WEDNESDAY: Argentina, Chad. Jordan, Mali, Mauritania, Zambia, Zimba

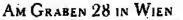
SATURDAY: Namibia.

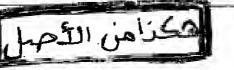
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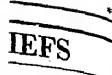


-1911-18K Gold, water resistant 30 m.

Hübner







ish Cypriot s) — An Austrian solder prus has shot and killed 1 in the first fatal shooting a island in 1964. n Kafa, who was the e island in 1909. n Kafa, who was said to be urday, and that the solder Austrian was wounded and (these miles) from be TS (three miles) from Pyla

y Turkish Cypriot republic ang force had been throw ung followed several week soldiers. However, a UN maker. The spokesman said and seriously wounded a m. (AP, Reason

in 2d Term irrand has begun his second licy aimed at uniting fellow

auguration ceremony at the dection on May 8, when he the later resigned as prime er the bad ones, nor the other

ther "so that the principle of of fear and confrontation lections for June 5, with he rew prime minister, Midd ty in the National Assembly.

### rotesters Clash

- South Korean not police ers in this southwestern cin nt and anu-American ralling is rocks and gasoline books of army's crushing in Kwanga law. Officials say about 20 tents say the death toll was a

y, but there were no reported four hours, halted traffic a over the city center and such and speni tear-gas canism a student tribule at a cent uprising are buried.

### 2 in Rampage

ther of President Corazon ( to death 12 persons, including

130e, who has disappeared the o fellow marines who also we security guard, with his pist in 2 Manila suburb. carby, where he got a tille at vithout hitting anyone, Baray ant, three of mem children is leut and independent unit of the icatial palace and escons fe-

### ent Assails Lee

gapore head of state accusation a Yew on Sunday of creating's ess married to an abysmal point seal.

to 1955 and a founding method that the arrest and re-arrest an dissidents since 1987 was usal opposition from emergin an helven." Mr. Nair said na roadcast 5y BBC radio. Althed ast year, his renewed critican ista vaid, because he is seas movement could coalesce.

### AMERICAN TOPICS

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Male Power Citadel Liberated by Women

Women are liberating a cita-Women are uperating a cita-del of male power: Washington. Women now run corporate of-fices, federal agencies and Cap-itol Hill staffs as well as holding highly visible jobs as lawyers and lobbyists, The New York Times notes

The number of women holdwest, where streams and rivers ing presidential appointments dropped from 123 in 1980, the last full year of the Carter adare down a third. Northern California is having its worst water shortage in a decade. In Monstration, to 62 in 1981, the tana, North and South Dakota first year of the Reagan White and Minnesota, some conserva-tionists say that if tains do not House, but has since risen to 227, according to Robert Tut-tle, director of presidential percome soon, a 1930s-style dust bowl could develop. sonnel. Among them is Mr. Tuttle's wife, Donna, who was

Ron Young, a detective with the 25-member police force in Kalispell, Montana, spent two weeks with the Los Angeles ponamed deputy secretary of commerce this spring.

Anne Wexler, a former side lice in get experience in dealing with homicides because be has to President Jimmy Carter and now a lobbyist, a field that was "maybe one a year" back home. The first night he went into ouce male-dominated, said, There are more extraordinary south-central Los Angeles, be women per capita in Washing-ton than any single place in the country." About one-third of drew his gun 13 times - more than in all his 17 years on the Washington's 11,000 lobbyists Kalispell force. "It was shocking," said Mr. Young, 42. "In are women. Montana, you just don't pull Heather Gradison, the first your gun unless you're shot at. But we were investigating the

woman to become chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, observed. "When people used to speak of a powerful Washington woman they would name an influential hostess. But that is social; that is money. That is not power. Power comes

al accounting firm. Mrs. Car

By Bill Peterson

Washington Post Service WINNETKA, Illinois - An ap-

parently deranged woman deliv-ered poisoned food and fruit juice

to at least eight locations, including

fraternities at Northwestern Uni-

second-grade Winnetka classroom

By Michael R. Gordon

WASHINGTON --- The United States and the Soviet Union are

New York Times Service

moving toward an agreement that

would allow American psychia-trists to visit Soviet mental hospi-

tals to determine if dissidents are

being imprisoned there, according

Administration officials and out-

to a State Department official.

side specialists said such an under-standing would be an important

fstep toward deterring the use of

During meetings in Moscow last month with Dr. Loren H. Roth, a

professor of psychiatry at the West-

ern Psychiatric Institute and Chinic

at the University of Pittsburgh, So-viet Health Ministry officials dis-

he Soviet Union.

unitive psychiatric treatment in

she went on a shooting spree in a day.

from hard work and position." nois, area. Children call it the Marcia Carlucci has worked "grocery-store school" and parfor both Congress and the execents call it a godsend. It also utive branch. She now heads leaves more room in the cart for government relations for Coogroceries. The center, for chilpers & Lybrand, an internation-

lncci, whose husband is um, five bean bags, and plenty Secretary of Defense Frank C. of toys, crayons and drawing Carlucci, says the key to infin-ence in Washington "is underpaper. Big windows allow par-ents to check on their youngstanding the process of govern-ment, and in that regard, there sters while they shop. A mini-mum \$25 purchase entitles parents to up to two hours of free child care. After two hours, there's a \$5-an-hour charge. Karen Redfearn, 35, said, "It's Vast reaches of the United definitely helpful, especially States face serious drought flis summer. Some of the hurdest-hit areas, like southern and when a mother has only two hands and two children and is trying 10 grocery shop. It's terwestern Texas, are in their sec-

na di seconda da seconda de second

is no gender gap."

Short Takes

ond or third dry years. Texas can still hope for a drenching

rain, but the dry season is just

murder of a hooker and, well,

we were dealing with a different type of people."

Babysitting service is provid-ed by four Country Fair super-markets in the Carbondale, Illi-

ming in the Pacific North-

Notes About People In a capital where the chief of state is often referred to as Ron. the speaker of the House of

Representatives goes by Jim and the Senate minority leader prefers to be called Bob, Ednd Morris, Ronald Reagan's designated biographer, is concerned about the proliferation of nicknames, even without permission of the nicknamed. When the political columnist William Safire referred to him as 'Ed,' Mr. Morris wrote him an open letter saying that this "grates like sand in salad."

Chick Huntsberry, a 6-foot-6 (1.98-meter), 350-pound (160kilogram) former professional wrestler who is now bodyguard to Rogers Nelson Prince, better known as the rock star Prince. dedicated his life to God after a grandson recovered from a choking episode last summer. Mr. Humisberry, 47, said he once had a \$1,000-a-day cocaine habit. He said his life has now changed - but oot completely: "I might be a Christian. but I'm not an idiot. If some dude smacked me, I'd probably smack him back. But I'd pray for him afterwards." He added

'You don't have to be a sissy to love Jesus." dren aged 6 months to 6 years. Arthur Highee has a color TV, a small aquariexperts on drug trafficking say. The conviction of the cartel lead-

By Peter Kerr

New York Times Service

er, Carlos Lebder Rivas, in Jacksonville, Florida, on Thursday will Congress and federal prosecutors not cripple the Medellin cartel, the have implied that the Medellin drug specialists say, because it is groups are a unified force that pose not a formal organization but a a threat to the stability of nations in loose coalition of criminal groups the Western Hemisphere, that cooperate on only some of On Thursday, Robert

NEW YORK - The dominant

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

By William Branigin

Bashington Post Service PANAMA CITY - By dragging out negouations with the United States on his departure, General Manuel Antonio

Noriega appears 10 be succeeding in a strategy to drive a

wedge between his U.S. and Panamanian adversaries, ac-

The aegotiations between a U.S. State Department envoy,

Michael G. Kozak, and a Noriega representative. Romulo

Escobar Bethancourt, have snarked reports for days of an

imminent deal in which General Noriega would step down

In return, General Noriega reportedly wants the United

States to take various steps that include dropping drug-

trafficking and racketeering indictments against him, lifting

comparies sanctions and recognizing the president whom be had installed in February.

Panamanian and foreign analysis canoon, however, that even if such a deal was reached, serious questions would

through with it. Nor is it clear what the United States could

According to Panamanian opposition leaders, General Noriega's strategy became clear in the days after a March 16

coup attempt against him, when he intensified efforts to

open talks with his opponents. Opposition political parties and the National Civic Crusade, an anti-Noriega coalition of

business and professional groups, rejected the multiple feel-

ers put out by General Noriega as ploys to buy time and

Mr. Kozak and William G. Walker, the deputy assistant

Washington, however, apparently took the bait.

or would do to make him comply, the sources say.

as military commander and leave the country temporarily.

cording to analysis here.

divide his focs.

Colombian groups that control the world's cocaine trade, often called not have political objectives, but

In recent months, members of Congress and federal prosecutors

Laurie Wasserman Dann

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one on the outside has seen in its and his co-defendant, Jack Carlton the Colombian Revolutionary

hierarchical structure of organized

leader is not likely to cripple criminal operations in Colombia. And fickers, including a group referred to as a "cartel" in Cali.

co and in Central and South Amerpicture of the Medellin leaders and

their influence in the West. 1981, the cartel leaders have often put at \$1.5 billion.

Speaking of the approaching U.S. presidential election, the source said, "I feel that some people with influence are so anxious for a solution that they may agree to something counterproductive, for example, leaving the Solis Paint government intact.

Page 3

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Mr. Kozak, the U.S. envoy, is on friendly terms with General Nonega's representative. Both Mr. Kozak and Mr. Bethancourt, a leftist politician, were involved in negotiating the 1977-78 Panama Canal treaties. However, Mr. Kozak is less knowledgeable about Panama than he is about the treaties, according to U.S. sources with long experience in Panama

"The potential of being hoodwinked by Noricea and Romulo Escobar Bethancourt is rather large," a U.S. official said. When dealing with many other countries, you can take the word of the leadership, he said. "But you can't do that with Noriega, nor with any member of the present government

In an interview this week, Commerce Minister Mario Rognoni, a top Noriega adviser, acknowledged that the civilian government could not guarantee that the National Defense Forces would honor the terms of any agreement on limiting the tenure of future military commanders or comply with other rules governing the military.

"The Americans know we can't do anything to force the military to obey the law," Mr. Rognoni said.

ment and departure from Panama for a time in a possible deal with Washington, Mr. Rognoni added that Mr. Bethanington about the situation in Panama and "an oversimplified sense that if Noriega leaves, everything will be OK." any date on any negotiation."

Regarding discussions about General Noriega's retire-

**Jailing of Cocaine Chief Unlikely to Deter Dealers** 

Ochoa was released. The meeting proved to be the first of many among the traffickers, officials say. In working together They have also tried to befriend against the kidnappers, the drug smugglers realized that they could

and corrupt people oo both sides in also cooperate to achieve greater established relationships with military, political and criminal leaders

In the view of U.S. drug agents, an important date in the founding the Medellin leaders face compen- of the trafficking group was Nov. tion from other Colombian traf- 12, 1981, when the revolutionary

woman, Marta Nieves Ochoa Vás-The Medellin groups control 80 quez, from the campus of the Unipercent of the cocaine entering the versity of Annoquia in Medellin United States. But in recent inter- and demanded \$1 million in ran-The Ochca family, which com-

intelligence experts, diplomats and trafficking organizations in the journalists have painted a more world, responded by calling a meetcomplex and at times contradictory ing of the leaders of the top Colombian drug-trafficking organizations at La Margarita, a restaurant on

The leaders, aware that their new manpower that numbers in the targets for kidnappings, formed an de

forcement anthorities say, the Me- involved in kidnapping." increased flow of deflin traffickers have ordered doz- The traffickers killed dozens of Western Europe.

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profits and safety. Shortly after the Ochoa kidnapping, the traffickers agreed to build a huge cocaine production complex on the Yari River in Colomhia, The complex, known as Tranquilandia. produced more than 3,100 (7,000 pounds) of cocaine a month

Mr. Lehder, who was arrested last year in what appears to have been an accidental raid by Colombian authorities, was credited with introducing airplanes that ferried tons of cocaine through the Bahamas and into Florida.

The Medellin traffickers dominate a system of dozens of sub-Bolivia and other South American countries, process it in Colombia and surangele it into the United

come for the Medellin groups was nappers," which they said would be that the Medellin leaders are the ficated to "the public and imme-Over the past decade, law en- diate execution of all those persons lords and that they are behind the

In addition, she apparently placed fruit juice cartons, snacks and cookies in mail boxes and at list of names, including the oames the backdoors of homes in three of families who had received food, versity and the residences of five affluent North Shore suburbs and in the apartment. former baby-sitting clients, before at two college fraternities early Fri-A note attached to one batch of Dann, 30, had carefully planned

tary of state for human rights and abuses. In January, Moscow or-humanitarian affairs, said that So-dered that 18 so-called special psy-

viet officials "reveated a great in- chiatric hospitals be transferred terest" in the idea of a visit by from police control to the control

American psychiatrists and that of the Ministry of Health. Moscow the Russians "agreed to most of Dr. has also adopted a new set of men-

tal patient rights.

**Poisonings Laid to Killer of Schoolchild** 

last week, according to the police, A 8-year-old boy was killed and your sisters. Enjoy." five other children critically [At least seven persons were tak- looked like it had been planned for wounded in the rampage at Hub- en to hospitals Satarday after cos- some time." saming apparently tainted food left Exactly what set Mrs. Dann off bard Woods Elementary School by

the woman, Laurie Wasserman by the wo Dann. national reported, quoting the po-friends, acquaintances, and the po-Mrs. Dann, identified as the as-lice. They said laboratory tests lice, she had a bistory of psycholo-sailant, later shot herself to death in showed the food contained arsenic. gical problems and minor brushes a nearby house after she had criti-(Seven fraternity members were with the law. These were rapidly hospitalized briefly for observation becoming major problem cally wounded a 20-year-old youth who had used to wrestle her gun after consuming food products ap-

syringe was used to inject substances into the food. Mr. Timm said they also found a

He said the developments Saturday raised the prospect that Mrs. Rice Krispies bars said: "Love, her attacks. "Certainly this all wasn't spontaneous," be said. "It

man, United Press Inter- remained unclear. According to

band and to a former boyfriend in

The daughter of an accountant, she grew up in the affluent suburb

about to start a third with a can of ringe in her parents' home. The college, she worked for an insur-gasoline when she was frightened police said they believed that the ance firm, and two years later married the boss's son, Russell Dann, who was paid \$100,000 a year.

The marriage was stormy, and the couple divorced in 1986. Mrs. Dann received a \$125,000 cash divorce settlement and \$1,250 a

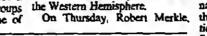
month for three years. The former husband later reported that an intruder had stabbed him in the chest with an ice pick as he slept in his apartment. He told the police that he thought the intruder was his estranged wife, but no charges were filed.

Later, Mrs. Dann was arrested for shoplifting in Wisconsin. She was accused of making a series of threatening calls to her former hus-

Arizona, and of other bizarre behavior.

She was sort of a Dr. Jekyll an

be deterred by the conviction of said. "They act individually but spiring to smuggle 3.3 tons of co-one of the founders of the cartel, pose a collective threat. They do caloe into the United States. they have a poliocal impact."



But the cocaine industry does the Nicaraguan civil war and have crime in the United States. There- in Panama, Hooduras, Nicaragua, fore, some experts say, the impris- Belize, the Bahamas and Mexico.

onment of even a top Medellin among other countries.

views in the United States, in Mexi- som from her family. ica, law enforcement officials, manded one of the largest cocaine

Since they first came together in the outskirts of Medellin owned by

a rustic restaurant near Medellin in the Ochoa family. pooled their resources, including drug wealth made them appealing thousands. By 1984, the annual in- organizatioo called "Death to Kid-

group M-19 kidnapped a young

States through Central America, the Caribbean and Florida. Law enforcement officials in the United States and Colombia agree most powerful and wealthy cocaine increased flow of cocaine into

their drug ventures and in fighting the U.S. attorney who prosecuted ens of assassinations and esta- people who they said were linked to common enemies. Mr. Lehder, a Colombian, said the blished alliances with at least two the M-19 group. On Feb. 19, Miss "The Medellin cartel is a short- conviction threatened the opera- guernilla armies in Colombia, the hand description for something no tion of the ring, Mr. Lehder. 38. April 19 Movement, or M-19, and

leadership role in Latin America.

about Panama."

the Medellin cartel, are unlikely to entirety," a high-level U.S. official Reed, S7, were convicted of con-Armed Forces,

Noriega Appears to Benefit as U.S. Talks Drag On

but left the door open for further talks.

secretary of state for Central America, flew to Panama for talks on March 18. The next day, the general publicly rejected U.S. demands for his departure as "anacceptable"

At the time, opposition leaders in Panama expressed unease about the talks, which put the United States in the

NEWS ANALYSIS

awkward position of negotiating with a man who had been dismissed by a president that Washington recognizes. General Noriega, rejecting his publicly announced dis-missal by President Eric Arruro Delvalle on Feb. 25, engi-

secred the replacement of Mr. Delvalle the next day by Manuel Solis Palma, a close ally of General Noriega. Al-

though Mr. Delvalle is in hiding, the U.S. government still recognizes him as the legitimate Panamanian president.

Since the U.S. talks with General Noriega began, the

opposition has grown increasingly alarmed by, and critical of, U.S. policy toward Panama. Opposition leaders fear a

superficial deal that would leave the Noriega regime essen-

tially intact. "Noriega has succeeded in dislocating the United States

and the opposition," said a Latin American ambassador. He

described the opposition in Panama as "semidefeated" and

the United States as on the verge of a major setback to its

A U.S. source in Panama said of policy-making in Washington. "There seems to be no coherent line of thinking

He said he detected "a great deal of ignorance" in Wash-

nnt appear to have the well-defined

fadrid on Sunday in opposition on European Union, the dom ary apperation. The police set my lefust political parties int said 5.000 participated. (If

ed to death near Grey lingstad & hannesburg, when blacks sale Reven uo Sunday. t 100 were injured in floodinghu again Province Friday nigh a may said Sanday. (17)

### PDATE

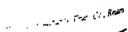
onbuars sailed on masic theorem ast meterboars and other note

there are France, where 13 your manation police said Sunday. (It

ell he consector services curalité rependencies this week becaus é

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and the Martin Cambia Zat



"basically receptive" to the ground rules for the visit. He said "important details still need to be worked

OUL' Richard Schifter, assistant secre-

ntly left by Mrs. Dann The Winnetka police chief, Her- of Glencoc, north of Chicago, was In the hours before she entered Hubbard Woods Elementary bert Timm, said the police had graduated from the highly regarded School on Friday carrying three found library books and a bibliog-handguns, the police said that Mrs. raphy about poisons in Mrs. 1975 and attended the University Dann ignited two fires and was Dann's apartment, as well as a sy-of Arizona. After dropping out of

**To Inspect Hospitals for Dissidents** 

Roth's suggestions."

Schifter said.

"There seems to be a genuine interest in bringing the problem of abuse of psychiatry to an end," Dr.

Dr. Roth accompanied Dr. Schifter to Moscow for talks on

human rights issues. The talks were

held last month when Secretary of

State George P. Shultz was in Mos-

cow to discuss arms control issues with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

Soviet and Western human

times between 1953 and 1979 and was a senator from 1983 to 1987.

Fei Vi-ming, 80, a Hong Kong publisher who was one of China's

ber of a committee that has been

drafting a constitution for Hong Kong after it reverts to Chinese

gn, the novel, "Famous All Over Town," about a Mexican-Ameri-

can family in a Los Angeles barrio, Wednesday in Monerey, Califor-

Dr. Alexander Herzog Hirsch

off.

Mr. Hyde in that she had mood swings up and down," said Charles Childs, 34, who dated her about a year ago. In recent weeks, the FBI was

trying to locate Mrs. Dann because of the calls to Arizona, and prosecutors in Illinois were developing a case against her over calls to her Soviets May Allow U.S. Psychiatrists former husband.

"We were working as fast as we could to get her off the street," Fred Foreman, the Lake County state attorney, told the Chicago Sun-Times, "because we knew she was exhibiting bizarre behavior."

### **Paris Investigates Deaths of Kanaks**

A State Department official said "a hundred or so patients about whom we had questions" have re-cently been released. "We also have Rewers PARIS - The circumstances of a commando raid carried out 10 free 23 French hostages in New not had word of any new commitments on political and religious grounds" during the last 18 months, the official said. Caledonia under the previous rightist government will be investi-gated, Prime Minister Michel Rocard has amounced.

But even with the new safegnards, the top ranks of Soviet psy-chiatry are still filled largely with the same officials who presided over the system in the 1970s and early 1087s. A communiqué from Mr. Ro-card's office said Saturday that France was "determined to shed all light on the events at Ouvea", referring to a raid earlier this month in early 1980s, when the abuse of psychiatry was at its most rampant. Western specialists and Soviet which 19 Melanesian separatist rebels, known as Kanaks, were killed. It said two inspectors from the Department of Defense flew to the dissidents have no firm estimate on the number of Soviet dissidents Pacific territory on Saturday to in-vestigate Kanak charges that hospitalized involuntarily. According to Sergei I. Grigoryants, the editor of the unofficial journal French soldiers killed several kidnappers after they had surrendered. The government earlier sent U.S. officials said they were still a six-man mission to "re-establish dialogue" between separatists and

### pro-French white serviers.

#### rights experts have long charged that political and religious dissi-dents in the Soviet Union have cussed the ground rules for a visit been confined to mental bospitals. by American psychiatrists. In 1983, the Soviet Union re-signed from the World Psychiatric Association rather than face a like-Dr. Roth, a specialist on invol-untary confinement in mental hospitals, said Soviet officials were

Glasnost, the estimates run from a ly expulsion as a result of a report few dozen to the low hundreds. on the use of mental hospitals to imprison dissidents. The Soviet Union has taken seeking formal agreement for the some steps toward cading the visit by American psychiatrists.

Giorgio Almirante, 73, Italy Neofascist, Dies

ROME — Giorgio Almirante, 73, for more than 40 years a leader in the Italian Social Movement, a Fei Vi-ming, a which for who w n one trainin social movement, a neofascist party, died Sunday after a long battle with heart disease, according to the Italian news agen-CY, ANSA.

top advisers in Hong Kong, of a stroke Wednesday, his newspaper reported. He was a ranking mem-Another former party leader and founder, Pino Romualdi, 77, died of cancer late Friday night and will

be buried Monday. A former official in the Mussoli-ni government, Mr. Almirante behoed found the Italian Social he former official in the Mussoli-ni government, Mr. Almirante behoed found the Italian Social he former official in the Mussoli-he former official in the Muss Movement in 1946 and saw it become Italy's fourth largest. He stepped down as general secretary in December because of his health and was elected to the hon- nia.

orary post of party president. He was also a member of the European field, 73, an American psychiatrist who was a leader in the field of Parliament.

Mr. Ronnaldi was editor of the occupational medicine, of respiraparty newspaper. He was elected to tory failure Wednesday in Green the Chamber of Deputies seven Brae, California.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: 'The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope.'

# The Moscow Gorbachev: Careful and Controlled

By Robert G. Kaiser and David Remnick Washington Post Service

MOSCOW - The Mikhail Gorbachev who welcomes visitors to his cavernous office in the Central Committee building oo Moscow's Old Square is oot the man who leaped out of his limousine in Washington last December to woo a startled lunch-time crowd.

The Moscow Gorbachev is a careful, controlled politician who brought with him to the pinnacle of Soviet society a kind of double past, a life in which an inclination for daring was tempered by his political ambioons and a sense of how far to go. Although he has made openness his general credo, there were times during his interview with The Washington Post and Newsweek when he decided reticence was the appropriate tactic.

Asked directly if he and his fellow Politburo member, Yegor K. Ligachev, had important disagreements, Mr. Gorbachev replied with general references to "lively and constant discussion" and "sometimes heated debate." But be studiously avoided any word or phrase that could be read as a direct refer-

ence to Mr. Ligachev. Evidently, political tensinns per-

chev's name were removed.

In the interview. Mr. Gorbachev admitted limits to his immediate ambioons. The most difficult economie changes, he said, had been postponed until the next five-year plan, which will not be adopted mul 1990. Mr. Gorbachev learned the frus-

trations of practical economic reform in the late 1970s and early

### NEWS ANALYSIS

1980s when he tried, with oo success. to revive Soviet agriculture as the Central Committee secretary responsible for the farm sector. While Mr. Gorbachev appeared the appropriate mask - be it sponat ease as he discussed his reform taneity or solemnity - as geograprogram, he straightened in his phy or policy demands.

chair and began tapping the table with his fingernails or clenching his hands when asked pointed questions about how much indepenmember him as free-thinking and dence East European countries outspokeo, Mr. Gorbacbev that "now we have more difficul-could exercise, about his relation- climbed through the party ranks ties" than when perestroika, his po-ation of a new political culture, Mr. favor with his superiors.

sion in Soviet society. At such moments, Mr. Gorba-Now, Mr. Gorbachev is trying to chev's voice dropped. That solem- combine his new and effective pub- we have chosen." He acknowl ness in society, to examine the nity was a reminder that, for Mr. lic personality with innovative poli- edged that perestroik a had not yet crimes of the Stalin era and the Gorbaehev, this interview was cies to achieve a paradoxical goal: produced "noticeable changes" in corruption and stagnation that folsist within the ruling Politburo. In largely for domestie consumption, to make "revolutionary" changes in social or economie life. the Soviet transcript of the inter- A version of it was to be printed the Soviet Union, but to dn so grad-

arsenals. Let us first cut them by 50 percent.

Maybe then by another 50 percent and then

once again. In the meantime, let us come to

terms on the elimination of chemical weapons

and start reducing conventional armaments in

Europe. That process should be open oot only

for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. but for all other

nuclear and nonnuclear states. That will be an-

important incentive for the demilitarizatioo of

politics, ways of thinking and international

ourselves oo a "minimal nuclear deterrence

now, I assure you that ouclear weapons will

start spreading around the world, devaluing

and undermining even what we can achieve at

the Soviet-American talks and at the oegotia-

oons among the now existing ouclear states. A peaceful future for mankind can be guar

anteed not by "ouclear deterrence," but by a

balance of reason and good will and by a

Q: The NATO leaders have announced that

even with a balance in the conventional forces

[if a parity of cooventiooal forces were

'A peaceful future can be

deterrence," but by a

will and by a system of

guaranteed not by "nuclear

balance of reason and good

system of comprehensive security.

And, another point: If we start orienting

relations in general.

Washington Gorbachev is no sur-prise. Soviet society is still deeply very rapid movement, he said, ments. And that is wonderful." conservative, its political culture "But we are going to move in a In his first three years as Comsteeped in traditions that discour- calculated, measured way in coo- munist Party general secretary, his still harass and imprison dissidents age the emergence of a colorful tinnous consultation with the peoprincipal success has been ideologi-leading personality. When he re- ple through a democratic process." cal, Mr. Gorbachev has made radileading personality. When he re- ple through a democratic process." ported to his countrymen on the His measured manner, correct but cal reform the country's platform. December summit meeting in oot stiff, confident and articulate, He has introduced open debate, a Washington, Mr. Gorbachev reas- reinforced his message.

Again and again, Mr. Gorbachev sumed his Moscow persona to describe his own personal triumph in returned to the theme that "demo- the better life that Mr. Gorbachev America in dreary official tones. Although he has been described ment of the citizenry in debate over food, consumer goods, housing, opas spontaneous, Mr. Gorbachev is policy choices — will help him suc-anything but. He is the master of ceed where earlier reformers like tion — is still just a promise his own personality, able to slip on Nikita S. Khrushchev did not.

Mr. Gorbachev is trained in the Soviet custom - failed in their do it in a society that through cenart of political self-discipline. efforts largely because of an ab- turies of rule by czars and commis-While his university friends re- sence of "democracy."

view, prepared for domestic publi-cation, all references to Mr. Liga-daily Pravda and other papers. "In our country and outside the bachev said, was that "people have they wish." That the Moscow Gorbachev country there are many people who become involved in the political was more restrained than the are pushing us toward some kind of process. They want to participate, its to his tolerance. Asked why,

> lively press, publication of longsuppressed books and journals. But

cratic processes" --- the involve- promised his people --- improved Making "democratization" an

Khrushchev and Leonid I. effective instrument of economic Brezhnev - Mr. Gorbachev used change is one of Mr. Gorbachev's both of their names, breaking from trickier acts, because he wants to sars has had no tradition of public Mr. Gorbachev did acknowledge involvement in policies.

ship with Mr. Ligachev, or the with a reputation for intelligence liky of restructuring, was launched Gorbachev clearly intends to retain many of the old limits. He has dimay be paradoxical, but oow I am rected historians and the press to more confident in the political line exploit glasnost, his policy of openlowed. He also has freed political Perhaps "the most important prisoners and slowly permitted

But Mr. Gorbachev revealed limafter he had promoted freedom of speech and the creation of "a socialist legal state," the authorities who express unorthodox views, Mr. Gorbachev bridled.

One dissident, Sergei Grigoryants, about whom he was asked, is "some kind of alien phenomenon in our society sponging on the dem-ocratic process," Mr. Gorbachev

Mr. Grigoryants spent a week in jail this month for his activities connected with publishing an independent journal of opinioo and hu-

man rights reportage that he has cheekily named Glasnost. Mr. Gorbachev said Soviet society was "strong enough to overcome such a thing" as Mr. Grigorvaots, a revealing eboice of language. He picked a word of

than one of tolerance. Mr. Gorbachev's habit, both as political and personal actor, has been to go further than his peers ces demand.

In the interview he explored areas that his immediate predecessors Mr. Gorbachev has gone beyond would never have touched: the failures of previous Soviet leaders, his



power - "overcome" - rather The name of Yegor K. Ligachev, No. 2 in the Soviet system, was removed from the Moscow version of the Gorbachev interview.

> own failure to improve living stan- and a limited one, but it has changed Soviet society profoundly, opening public discussion oo sensitive topics that have been taboo for generations. Mr. Gorbachev said be hoped those changes would be

#### dards, the price the country has paid for arbitrary government. Io three years as Soviet leader, what anyone ever expected of him. Glasnost may be an instrument,

Perestroika: Ridding the Soviet Union of Deformations of the Past

#### Washington Post Service

This is the complete English-language text supplied by the Soviet government in response to written questions submitted to Mikhail S. Gorbachev in March. The questions were requested in writing by the Soviets after The Washington Post asked for an interview with Mr. Gorbachev. In their written response, the Soviets revised some of the questions. Where the questions differ significantly, parts of the original questions submitted by The Washington Post appear in brackets.

Q: Have the three meetings with President Reagan changed your ideas as to how peaceful cooperation [competition] between capitalist and socialist countries should be regulated in the future? How do you think the farthcoming summit will contribute to stabilizing that competidon? [Specifically, how dn you now see the prospects of achieving a detailed agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic ouclear weapons that would stabilize superpower relaoons and make sure that oeither side retains a credible first-strike opoon? Is it ont possible to also use your formulation - that a new world war does not correspond to the realities of the ouclear era - to argue that ouclear weapons have contributed to global stability in recent decades?1

A: I am convinced that positive trends are unfolding in the world. There is a turn from confrontation to coexistence. The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope. And I see that a significant role in that process is being played by the signs of improvement in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. All over the world there is an acute oced for change or, if you wish, a need for restructuring internacional relations. In that situatioo it is essential to continue positive contacts between the East and the West.

on the lowest possible level sufficient only for rence," I will not argue oow with the propo-oents of that idea. So far, you and we have more defense than 10,000 warheads each in our strategie

We are not satisfied with the pace of the Vienna consultations of the 23 countries elaborating the objective and format of the future conference. If the work in Vienna proceeds in the same on-again, off-again manner, Europe will have to wait for a long time for those asymmetries to be eliminated

Quite possibly - I would say even certainly - there are people whom such a situation suits just fine. But I believe that they will be unable to adhere to their posidons for long. Quarters which realize that the issue of the dangerous level of armed forces on the European cootinent should be resolved at all costs are becoming stronger,

Q: In the mooths remaining of the Reagan presidency, what is required to broaden your personal relationship with the president into an insotuoonal relationship and carry both into the future?

A: The experience of present-day internaoonal relations shows the paramount importance of meetings between leaders of states, all the more so when the case in point is the United States and the Soviet Union. Since both coun-tries are well aware of the need for intensifying the dialogue and improving relations, it is abso-lutely obvious that it is oot only the leaders' personal views that matter. This is the impera-tive of our time. This is the striving of our peoples. Such is the constant in the Soviet-American dialogue. It remains intact. And if we add to that the experience we have accumulated, all these factors taken together give rise to hopes for continuity and even for intensified cootacts and improved mutual understanding. However, let me repeat that everything rests on the interests of our countries and peoples, oot on the sentiments of or their persocal motives. No one can allow relations to slide to a point beyond which the unpredictable may happen. Such is the basis for continuing and developing the Soviet Ameri-can dialogue. It will remain the same in the future as well.

for reaching agreements in that field, and whenever Congress is about to consider military budgets and other allocations for armaments. But, to quote the ancient Greek philosophers. all is in a state of flux, nothing stays still. If the process of disarmament proceeds actively, if corporations receive fewer military-related or-ders and if the U.S. stops wielding a "big stick" every time something happens tens of thousands of kilnmeters away from the U.S. -

its influence is substantial. And it makes itself

there are signs of positive change in the disar-

mament sohere, whenever there are prospects

felt especially obviously and candidly whenever

something pictured as a threat to America's nadonal interests - then we will be able to discuss that matter again. Q: The Americans are familiar with the rapid erosion that occurred in the situation in Vietnam once they decided to withdraw from that war. [How does the Soviet Union propose to avoid such an erosion oow that the outline of the withdrawal from Afghanistan has been drawn? If attacks on Soviet units increase during the withdrawal, what military response will

the Soviet Union make?] What changes, in your view, will take place in Afghanistan in the next year while the Soviet Union is pulling out its troops? What will the Soviet Union's cootributioo to bringing about those changes be? [Con-versely, what will the impact of the Afghanistan experience have been on Soviet civilian and

military leadership and society?] A: Any parallel between Vietnam and Afghanistan is artificial. Not to mention how different the nature of the conflicts is. I would only like to remind you of the fact that prior to the Americans pulling out of Vietnam, that country was divided for 20 years into two nearly equal parts by a border along the 17th Parallel. In both sections, there existed governments personifying regimes opposite in nature and incompatible in aim.

views on ways to preserve peace, her dedication to nuclear deterrence and her assessments of socialism

About the similarities and dissimilarities of economic policy in this country and in the West: Of course, it is possible to find a likeness, formal at least, in anything and such a likeness does exist if you do not go into the essence of one reform or another. However, it is the difference of principle that matters. What is taking place in the U.S.S.R. is an all-embracing process of revolutionary renovation of socialist society on the basis of the historie choice which we do not doubt and which proved in principle the only correct one for our people 70 years ago. Otherwise the country with which you are discussing things that affect the future of the world as a whole would not exist. Of course, combating stagnation in the course of perestroika and nantling the mechanism of retardation require that sluggishness and conservatism be come. Sometimes we are confronted with

'Democratization does not bypass the sphere of human rights. We are enhancing the political and public status of the human personality!": Dra arria

hectic impatience. There is also conscious resistance oo the part of those whose narrow selfish interests are incompatible with perestroika, socially, economically or morally.

Many issues have already been resolved within the framework of the democratic process, while others will be resolved as Soviet society changes qualitatively in the course of perestroika. But that is our job. We are resolving these issues not because we want to play up to somebody or to please somebody, but because this meets the interests of our society, because perestroika cannot be carried out without it, and, last but not least, because it is wanted by the Soviet people who have long outgrown the restrictions which they put up with in the past and which were to a certain extent an inevitable part of the unusual revolutionary development which we

have gone through. Once I said, and it seems to me, to an American: Please, show me a country that has no problems. Each country has problems of its own, human rights included. Of course, we are well-informed about the situation with political, social, economic and other rights in the United States. We know well the achievements and problems, but also the flaws of American society. But we do oot tolerate interference in your home affairs, though we deem it right to express our views on the processes taking place in American society, on your administration's policy. But we do not want to make all this a reason for confrontation. We consider such an approach to be correct, fair, we see it as meeting the interests of Soviet-American relations and their future. I. want, to emphasize once again that we do not uy to impose anything on the Manyed States, but at the same time we rebuilt attempts by any side to meddle in our affairs, no matter who mes to do so in your country.

Such is, in principle, our approach. At the same time, there are problems in the human rights sphere which require joint consideration." The mechanism of cooperation in that area has begun to take shape of late. Scientists, specialists and public representatives have been widely drawn into it. Specific issues are analyzed at their meetings in a calm atmosphere and businesslike manner. We also welcome the accord on setting up at permanent body on human rights with the participation of deputies to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen. It is the duty of legislators in both countries to show concern for observance of the citizens' rights. We are prepared to go on acting in this spirit. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say the following. As it seems to me, pragmatism, preparedness to seek new de-cisions if what has been tested does not work is the Americans' forte. But they also have a trait -please, do not resent my frankness -- which sometimes makes it difficult to deal with them. I mean their confidence that everything American is the best, while what others have is at least worse if not altogether bad and unfit for use. I am not talking about anticommunism, which has been implanted in the U.S.A. for decades, despite the fact that Albert Einstein called it "the greatest lie of the 20th century" many years ago. For the sake of our mntual understanding, please, do not try to teach us to live according to American rules - it is altogether useless And I repeat that, for our part, we do not intend to suggest our values to the Americans. Let each side live in its own way, respecting each other's choice and voluntarily exchanging the Imits of our labor in all spheres of human activity. I am sure that each nation, each people does not lose but, conversely, wins if it looks at itself criocally and does not ignore others experience, if it is open to understanding of and respect for a different culture, a different way of thinking, different customs, lastly, a different poliocal system, of course, if it is not terrorist, fascist or dictatorial. Q: [The Soviet leadership has concluded that demonstrations of nationalism in the Baltic republics, Armenia and other areas of the Soviet Union were precipitated in part by shortcom-ings in "internationalist education."] Does your policy of perestroika (greater socialist pluralpolicy of petestrona (greater socians) pura-ism) require fundamental changes in the way relations among Soviet nationalities are struct tured? Does this policy (your policy of peres-troika) offer new ways of addressing the interests of cultural diversity and internationalism among nationalities? A: The question of changing the socialist principles of relations among the peoples, big and small, in our country is not on the agenda in the U.S.S.R. But we will set right the violations of these principles. It is such violations that caused the recent developments in some of our republics. The West has displayed, I would say, a morbid interest in them, not infrequently with anti-Soviet innnendo and bad intentions. It made lavish use of speculations aimed at weakening our multiethnic union.

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As for the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is simply vital because of the great role they play in today's world

The very fact of that dialogue is working for peace, not to menoon its content with such exceptiooally important joint statements as those regarding the inadmissibility of wars, nuclear or any other, the necessity of resolving problems by political means and of recognizing the realities of today's world.

It is very important that all this has sounded loud and clear for the whole world to hear, and we have seen how the world has responded to it. All this leads to the following conclusion: Yes, we are all different and will remain so. We will remain loval to our ideas and our way of life. But we have a common responsibility, especially our two great powers, and our every action must measure up to that responsibility.

As for the potential results of the upcoming fourth meeting with the president and, notably, the prospects for a detailed agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, the past few months and weeks have seen so much speculation that I would like to make the following point: Be padent, the meeting is just a few days away. let the president and I work together. Whatever we arrive at will certainly not be concealed from the public.

There are two more points to be made here. though. The very continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue at the summit level is important and substantive. In any case, I hope our attention will be focused on the main international problems, like at the previous meetings. and that we will be able to rise to a new level of dialogue and mutual understanding.

And next, if an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons comes to be drafted under the present U.S. administration, I see no reason why President Reagan and I should nni sign it. I would certainly welcome that.

Q: Many people in the West think that nuclear weapons have been instrumental in maintaining stability in the world over the past few es. Would it not be more rational for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in those conditions to agree on preserving minimal ooclear deterrents? [Might it not be more realistic to seek to identify and negotiate with the United States a permanent minimal ouclear deterrent, perhaps of several hundred strategic warheads on each side, than continue to strive for the complete abolitioo of nuclear weapons?]

A: I cannot agree with those who think that the drive for a nuclear-free world is hopeless.

I have argued more than once with representatives of the West over their case that without ouclear weapons we would ovver have survived for 40 years without another world war. This is just a conjecture. But what about a sober evaluation of the real role played by the so-called "balance of fear?" It has given us oothing but unheard-of militarization of foreign policies, economies and even intellectual life. It has caused damage in the sphere of international morality and ethics and has killed the atmosobere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other which was born in Soviet-American relations in the years of joint warfare and victory over fascism.

I am convinced that strategic military parity can he maintaided at a low level and without nuclear weapons. We have clearly formulated our choice: to stop, then reverse the arms race. As for the so-called "minimal nuclear deter-

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comprehensive security."

achieved] in Europe, ouclear weapons will still need to be preserved on the cootinent as a means of retaliation (would still be needed in Europe to pose an unacceptable risk for an aggressor]. If, in keeping with that position, nuclear disarmament is unacceptable for the West, should we not try to reach a joint agreement on the terms of modernizadoo of the tactical ooclear weapons deployed in Europe? How does this reaffirmation of the role of nuclear weapons in Europe affect your intention to rid Europe of ouclear weapons? What do you intend as your next step toward this goal, and how do you plan to address the concerns of the Western allies? If denuclearization is not possible, should the two sides seek to come to a joint statement on the terms of modernizing short-range ouclear weapons stationed in Europe?

A: The talk about ouclear weapons on the continent as a means of retaliation is the same old concept of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. It absolutely contradicts what I conferred with the U.S. president about back in Geneva -notably, that nuclear war cannot be won and simply must not be allowed to happen. Can you really not see that materialization of the formula of modernizing tactical ouclear weapons in

Europe is fraught with the danger of a ooclean catastrophe in the center of the continent? f know of the NATO statements concernin

nuclear weapons. But I also know that people are thinking not only at NATO headquarters, but also in public, scientific and government circles. There are already a number of ideas which have authoritative supporters both in the East and West of Europe --- oo ways of reducing conventional armaments, including dual purpose systems, from the Atlande to the Urals. We support the ideas of nuclear-free zones in northern Europe and in the Balkans. We are also in favor of a 300-kilometer corridor free of all nuclear and any nther heavy weapons in central Europe. I am naming just some ideas but certainly not all.

I am positive that it is here, in such interme diate projects, that we should seek ways of removing the threat of nuclear war, instead of clinging to nuclear weapons which do not lead to genuine security in any version. The ideas that you mention in your question are selfdeinsion.

As for deterrence, isn't awareness of the very fact that a strike at nuclear power stations and chemical plants even with conventional weapons would be lethal for densely populated Europe enough of a deterrent to war?

Q: NATO suggested cutting tens of thousands of nonnuclear weapons that could be used for surprise or large-scale offensive operations. Does this approach fall within the boundaries of your stated willingness to oegotiate on the basis of asymmetrical reductions?

A: On our side, there are no obstacles to that. As for the existing asymmetries in the arsenals of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, I have already expressed my views on that score many times: Asymmetries exist on both sides. We stand for the elimination of asymmetry on the basis of reciprocity. For example, the Warsaw Treaty armies have more tanks. And the NATO armies have more attack planes. The Soviet Union and our allies are ready to eliminate these and other asymmetries without delay but, let me repeat, on the basis of reciprocity, And then it would be possible to balance armaments

In a word, we are interested in developing the dialogue, we will strive to make it more productive, we will try to facilitate the "adaptation" of the oext U.S. administration to contacts with us, and will do everything within our power to keep the process begun in Geneva in 1985 from stopping. And, naturally enough, we hope for the same attitude on the American side.

Q: Do you feel President Reagan is a differ-ent kind of American leader? Which of his qualities and or ideas would you most hope to see his successor hold as well? Has he been able to persuade you that the military-industrial complex does not determine U.S. policy?

A: As is known, I made President Reagan's acquaintance in Geneva less than three years ago. We have maintained contacts in various forms ever since. There were three one-oo-one meetings. The fourth is approaching.

I'm not particularly fond of giving personal character references. But since you ask, I would like to say that realism is an important quality in President Reagan as a politician. By this mean the ability to adapt one's views to the changing situation, while remaining faithful to one's convietions.

Who would have thought in the early '80s, both in the Soviet Unioo and the U.S.A., that it

The Soviet Union will help Afghanistan in dealing with the consequences of war. It will act in keeping with the long-standing traditions of goodneighborliness and friendship with this southern neighbor.'

would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first ouclear arms reduction treaty in history? However, the sober-minded realization that the world has changed and that the interests of our countries are changing enabled the president to take a fresh look at existing realities, while holding to his well-known convictions. And don't the leaders of such powers as the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., which bear a unique responsibility for the destiny of the modern-day world, really need such qualities as the ability to give up dogmas and discard outdated ideas for the sake of making progress? For the goal in question is the most noble ridding our peoples and all humanity of the nuclear nightmare, building new relations and improving the international situation.

As for the military-industrial complex, let me remaind you that it wasn't us, it was one of the predecessors of the current president, Dwight Eisenhower, also a Republican, who came up with that notion.

It seems unlikely that he made a mistake. But is that complex the only force shaping American policy? Hardly so, although, let me repeat,

There is nothing of that kind in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the government there has set itself the goal of achieving the Afghan people's national reconciliation and, on this basis, its own reorganizatioo into a coalition government with the participatioo of all parties to the con-

It goes without saying that the future depends in many respects oo how honestly and consistently all the signatories to the Geneva agreements will meet the commitments assumed, without their trying to get around them in some way or another or deceive their part-

can reaffirm nnce again that the Soviet Union intends to meet its obligations precisely and undeviatingly.

It is the Afghans themselves who are to decide how the settlement will proceed, what changes are in take place in Afghanistan in the future. We adhere firmly to this principle, which means ooninterference in internal affairs. The Soviet Uninn will render assistance to Afghanistan in dealing with the consequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan ecooomy. In a word, it will act in keeping with the long-standing traditions of good-neighborliness and friendship with this southern ocighbor of ours, undoubtedly respecting its status as an independent, neutral and nonaligned state. Q: You said that when the Afghan knot is

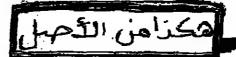
untied, it will have the most profound impact on other regional conflicts, too. Is the Soviet Union prepared to cooperate with the United States and other countries in resolving other conflicts, for example in Central America, the Gulf and Angola? A: Yes, it is prepared. I have already said

that, given constructive cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States and major emphasis on the prestige and capabilities of the United Nadons, its Security Council and other bodies, political settlement of regional conflicts and prevention of new ones will gradually become an international practice, a norm. I would like to confirm this conviction of mine. The world has ample proof that dragged-out

conflicts are the result of politics being exposed to pressure from outdated stereotypes. They are orthodox approaches to national security, with power politics being preferred to sober considerations and political boldness, the old habit of seeking to satisfy one's rights and interests at other people's expense, and a shortage of fairness and humaneness in international relations. The president and I have discussed this more than once and we will have a chance to take up these matters at the forthcoming meeting, too. Of course, such talk can be productive only if there is respect for the right of every people to choose their own road.

Q: Recalling her talks with you. Mrs. (Margaret) Thatcher drew a comparison between the criticism and resistance a Western leader faces in bringing change and what you have encountered in pushing perestroika (restructuring) and lasnost (openness). She wished you success. Is the comparison accurate? Or is it fundamentally different? To be more specific, by glasnost you seem to mean something different from what we think of as freedom of speech. Could you elaborate on the differences?

A: I appreciate the kind words Mrs. Thatcher addresses to us now and then. However, I



However, this is precisely what we mean by perestroika, in the course of which we want to enovate our society, upgrade it quality-wise. Perestroika is proceeding in width and depth, encompassing all public groups and all our territory. Perestroika is growing and gaining momentum

As for glasnost, it and freedom of speech are, of course, interconnected. However, these are not idenocal things. I would put it this way: While freedom of speech is indispensable for glasnost, we see glasnost as a broader phenomenon. For us it is not just the right of every citizen to openly say what be or she thinks about all social and poliocal questions, but also the duty of the ruling party and all bodies of authority and administration to ensure openness in decision-making, be accountable for their actions, act on criticism and consider advice and recommendations from the shop floor, public organizations and individuals.

Glasnost accentuates an environment allowing citizens to effectively participate in discussing all of the country's affairs, in elaborating and making decisions that affect the interests of all of us and in monitoring the implementation of these decisions.

Q: Could you discuss what ideas from abroad have had an influence in the formation of your political and economie thinking and your mode of action? Conversely, what is the effect of glasnost and perestroika in other socialist countries?

A: lo my book on perestroika published by Harper & Row, I wrote that our oew political thinking is a result of our comprehension of the realides of the nuclear age, the fruit of deep and self-critical reflections on the past and present of our own country and the surrounding world,

The new thinking took into account and absorbed the conclusions and demands of the Nonaligned Movement, of the public and the scientific community, of the movements of pbysicians, scientists and ecologists, and of various antiwar organizations. We also take into consideration the experience of other socialist countries just as they take ours into account The process of mutual enrichment with experience, in which no one tries to impose any models on others, is under way.

Yes, all of us really do understand our dependence on one another better and feel that we live in an interrelated world and that all of us are inseparable parts of the single present-day civilization.

Q: [Added by the Soviets: Judging by the president's statements, you disagree with him on human rights.] At the same time, your dramatic decision to free Andrei Sakharov and Ito telephone him immediately after doing so and] to ease the conditions of emigration for some Soviet Jews who desire to live abroad have attracted attention around the world. [What made you decide to call Sakharov and to ease up on emigration and what results do you feel these decisions have achieved in the Soviet Union?] What further steps do you plan in this direction?

A: Our perestroika, the main factor of which is creative effort, also includes doing away with all deformations of the past years, with everything that hampers manifestation of the humanitarian essence of socialism.

We know our problems and speak honestly and openly about them. The process of democratization does not bypass the sphere of human rights and liberties. We are enhancing the politcannot help saying that I disagree with her ical and public status of the human personality. society.

Problems certainly do exist, and they are linked with the legacy we inherited from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation-in the economy, social policy, spintual life and human relations.

Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of allnationalities, will help us resolve the problems. of this sphere, too. And we will resolve them in the spirit of perestroika and in close linkage with the accomplishment of all the main tasks it involves, in the process of radical renewal of ...

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: "The most expensive mistakes are political mistakes."

# Text of Interview: Emphasis on Reforms and Cooperation With U.S.

Pollowing is the full transcript of a 90-minute interview of General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbacher by senior executives and editors of The Washington Post and Newsweek. The interview

washington Fost and Newsweek. Ine interview was conducted by Katharine Graham, chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co.; Rich-ard Smith, editor in chief of Newsweek; Meg Greenfield, editorial page editor of The Washing-ton Post and Newsweek columnist; Jim Hoag-land consists editor and chief (mism control on the land, associate editor and chief foreign correspon-dent of The Washington Post, and Robert G. Kaiser, assistant managing editor for national news of The Washington Post and a former Moscow correspondent. The transcript was pre-pared by The Washington Post from both English and Russian

Graham: Well, we are aware that you are following many things, in particular events in our country, and that you read a lot and rea member everything (langhter). Gorbachev: Well, someone recommended

me very well to you. I must extend to you Mrs. Gorbachev's warmest regards. Graham: Thank you. We had such a nice

meeting in Washington. I was hoping perhaps to be able to see her here, but if not please give her my best regards. Gorbachev: She is not an easily manageable

person (laughter). Graham: They say that about all of us. Gorbachev: There is an interesting phrase, I think, of Engels. He used to say that a woman is an entire civilization.

Kaiser: (Pointing to a portrait on the office wall) Engels is right here. (Everyone is seated

wall) Engens is light netter (Liveryout & court and questioning begins.) Gorbachev: How are things in Washington? Graham: Well, everybody is getting ready for the summit and thousands of people are going to come here. And everybody is looking forward with great expectation and great hopes to this occas

Gorbachev: The summit boom that used to be in Washington is now moving to Moscow.

'I think we have learned from the past, which is why

we are so persistent in

developing the process of democratization.'

And that is good. It is good that the dialogue is continuing. The dialogue can have ups and downs, and I guess it does have this kind of evolution. But the important thing is that if the dialogue costinues it will lead to specific achievements. And this is what I tried to say in my answers to your questions --- that we value highly these summit meetings.

And, of course, although we do have very diverse contacts with representatives of the United States — in the spheres of politics, of science and technology, of economics, in all areas - bot all of those contacts cannot substitute for the summit.

And so I want to tell you that Moscow, too, is living in an atmosphere of preparations for the visit of the U.S. president. We have not had a cause this concerns the whole society. And, of visit of a U.S. president for 14 years now.

tablished an entirely new kind of productive discussion that certainly has been missing for Gorbachev: Yes, and I think that is the most important thing. Though I do value the actual, specific agreements that we have signed, such as the INF [Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces] agreement, it seems to me that the most important political result of the recent period of improvement in our relations is the regular and very productive political dialogue that we have

the forthcoming decisions of the party confer-ence will be precisely in this area. I have now approached the answer to the second part of your question. Of course, al-ready many years ago in our party and in our society, I think that people understood the need for reform, the need for renewal of our country. Attempts, I would say major attempts, were made at that time by Nikita Khrushchev and the leadership of his time to introduce major reforme. I would say that in the ll consid Barry reforms. I would say that in the [Leonid] Brezhnev period, too, the leadership of that time conceived and was trying to implement major reforms.

But those reforms did not bear fruit, and I But those reforms did not bear fruit, and 1 think the main reason for that is that those reforms did not rely, the process of reforms did not rely on the main, decisive force — and that is the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country. I think we have learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democretization.

Therefore, for us the words that have become popular, "More democracy, more socialism," are not just a slogan or a pretty formulation. This is a well thought out concept. Through the development of the process of democratization through improvements in the economic, political, social and spiritual areas, we can reveal the potential of socialism and all that is part of this system.

We now have three years of hard work under perestroika under our belts, so we can say confidently that perestroika has become a national cause.

Probably many generations of our people and certainly my generation, cannot recall a time of such great activity and great interest. People are discussing the activities of party organs, government bodies and economic enterprises - in general, everything that's happening in the country. Everything is being dis-cussed. There is intense interest of the people in all that. And that means an end to stagnation, an end to apathy. This is a turbulent time, a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship, but we have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong.

Hoagland: I wonder if we can pursue a couple of specific points on perestroika. As you say, it's a purbulent time and that there are more difficulties in some areas now than there were before. Price reform is an awfully important area in perestroika. It's also ..... The system here of subsidies has been part of the old social contract between the citizens and the govern-ment, meaning that every Soviet customer gets a 3 ruble (\$5) subsidy on a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of meat, a 30-kopeck (50-U.S.-cent)

Are you persuaded that this has to be changed, these subsidies that cost the government so much? And, if so, how urgenily, and

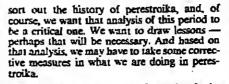
subsidy on each liter (1.057 quart) of milk that's

how will you change it? Gorbachev: We have been discussing this problem, and not only in the government but in society, too. People in Moscow can confirm that there is a vigorous debate on these questions in our press. The people involved in that debate include workers, rank-and-file people, cause this concerns the whole society. And, of course, our experts on these questions are also

taking part. Graham: Well, you have, together with Presi-dent Reagan, Mr. [George P.] Shuitz and Mr. [Eduard A.] Shevardnadze, I believe, have es-prices and price formation occupy a significant place. They are of great importance. When I speak about prices, I mean wholesale prices, purchasing prices and also retail prices. What we think we should do is to formulate the next five-year plan on the basis of new prices. So this is the answer to that part of your question where you spoke about the time frame for this. Now the question is how to approach that. Let me say that we have come to a conclusion, and this is the point of view of both our government and our research institutions. And this is the conclusion we have conveyed to the people in the preliminary discussion of this question: that the reform of the price and price formation in the Soviet Union should not, must not, result

written about perestroika, restructuring, in international relations, and specifically in rela-tions among socialist countries. You have written and spoken very eloquently about the absolute right of nations to choose their own path, capitalism or socialism or whatever variant on it they wish. And we are curious as to how this will apply to the countries of Eastern Europe, the socialist states. For example, in Poland there are elements in the society arguing for a pluralistic system in which the Communist Party might not play the leading role. Would such an outcome be acceptable, be tolerable, to you?

Gorbachev: I think that it would certainly be better to put that question to the Polish people. I think that would be more consistent with what you said in the beginning of your quesdoo that we do recognize the right of every country to have its own social option, to choose its own ways of developing its society. In that frame-



But I think that the central question is the people's great interest. And that is a very inter-esting symbol that also demonstrates the question of how to deepen this process, how to move forward with perestroika and make it irreversible. Therefore, the main questions at come involved in the political process. They the conference will relate to deepening the want to participate, to express their opinions and judgments. And that is wonderful. That may be the most important product of pereseconomic reform and to deepening the democ-ratization of our party and society. This is the main thing. As for the rest of it, I think you will find out more.

Smith: Mr. Gorbachev, Soviet editors have told us that Mr. [Yegor K.] Ligachev endorsed the article in Soviciskaya Rossiya that had some praise for the Stalin era. You personally endorsed an editorial io Pravda that refuted the ovietskaya Rossiya article. Can you tell us if the Sovietskaya Rossiya article reflected Mr. Ligachev's views (this second reference to the Sovietskaya Rossiya article and Ligachev was sometically apparently inadvertently, when the process to understand that if the general secre-interpreter put this question to Gorbachev in tary did not have the support of the people Russian), and does this exchange suggest that there is a serious difference of opinion in the pened in our country after April [the April 1985



Soviets lining up in central Moscow to buy meat pies, one of many popular but infrequently available delicacies, at an outdoor stand.

work, it is up to the Polish people to decide what they oeed for Poland to develop further and to become stronger and to give greater benefits to the people of Poland. So I would limit my answer to that question.

What we are doing in our country under the banner of perestroika is our business. Perestroika was born out of our conditions, and we need it. We will continue that process, expanding it and also making it deeper, but we will not impose it oo any other country. Therefore, it is up to the Polish people to decide what they want to do. But I'm sure that the Polish people will sort things out, will decide themselves what they need at this stage of their country's developnent.

leadership as to perestroika, as to the prospects of perestroika and the evaluation of the past, is ing pushed oot by Soviet editors but by the be Western media. That's my first reaction. I doo't know the motives behind the fact that

Central Committee plenum where the first versioo of Gorbachev's reform program was adopted]. Everything that has been born here in our society, in our party, in the Central Committee, came from the participation of the cur-

hink about the idea for a referendum?

reot leadership of the country. And let me say that perestroika has already pushed forward a oumber of very interesting strategic offensive arms and then to continue people in every sphere: in politics, in ecocom-

policy, a referendum for all the people. Have you heard about that letter and what do you But we are sure that our country is strong enough to overcome such a thing, I have said that perestroika is a kind of melting pot that

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Gorbachev- (Laughing) That letter's not the only thing I've heard about. I think those facts will make our society stronger, that will reveal its democratic, human potential, all in the inter-est of man. And that which some suggest are entirely positive. In the first place, the society is not indifferent to who is in the leaderthat we look for our future in different values solicity is not infiniterent to who is in the reader-ship of the country. And that is evidence of people's great interest. And that is a very inter-esting symbol that also demonstrates the achievements of perestroika. People have be-

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with our meeting and express the hope, a weak hope, that The Washington Post and Newsweek will illuminate what is going on in the Soviet Union on the basis of objective analysis, serious, responsible analysis. We are not asking for praise, but we invite you to get to know the nuths that perestroika has produced. A respect-In the economic and social sphere a great deal of work remains to be done for there to be noticeable changes. There have been some posiable publisher must do everything respectably. tive changes, but for major changes that all of society can feel, we need more time to work.

Graham: Could we impose on your good will Nothing is happening in the party or in society that would confirm the anxiety about for one really important question that hasn't been asked?

which you spoke. And here I am not talking about myself. I mean that there is no such thing that promises any kind of split in the leader-ship. Probably you have to know our political Hoagland: We wanted to talk a little about the summit both in terms of substance and atmosphere. In your written answers you say that you would welcome another meeting with Mr. Reagan to sign an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Is this agreement on a 50 percent reduction so important and so close to completion now that it could be signed while negotiations on space defenses and on other problems such as sea-launched cruise missiles continue?

Gorhachev: Well, we are very much and fundamentally committed to decisive reductions in nuclear arms, and therefore we want to see the agreement on 50 percent reductions in strategic offensive forces. We want to have that signed. In our assessment we have covered together a long road in the search for conclusions to all questions. But I think you would agree with me that if I say that if we sign with one hand a treaty reducing strategic offensive forces in one area and at the same time launch an arms race in space or at sea, what would be the point? That would be senseless.

And so this is not capricious, it isn't some kind of maneuver from the Soviet side, but rather a carefully thought out and responsible position. I think it is in the interest of the Soviet people, of the American people and the people of the world.

If we just replace one kind of arms race with another, particularly in space, where the arms race would take a particularly dramatic turn, we would undermine the trust that has begun to be huilt, we would make worthless all the experience that we have accumulated at the Geneva negotiations. This new kind of arms race, new sphere for an arms race, new criteria --- it would take decades to reach some kind of agreement and come to an agreement. I think that he who pushes for an arms race in

space is committing a crime against the people - his own people, and others. That must be said with all responsibility, and with clarity. Such an approach, such an idea, is a road to destabilization, to unpredictability on matters of security. This must be condemned, the initiator of such an approach must be pilloried.

And sea-launched cruise missiles - this would also be a roundabout maneuver that could become a new avenue for the arms race. And therefore, we are linking all those questions together and we believe that this is a fair approach. What is more, I have to say that we see genuine possibilities to resolve all those questions, to resolve all of them together and to have a treaty on a 50 percept reduction of farther.

Hoagland: The reason behind my question is

that there has been movement on both sides

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Graham: Thank you, I feel that our ..... Gorbachev: I began to ask you questions in order to seize the initiative (laughter). I have answered your written questions and so now it is time to just have a conversation. Graham: I want to begin by thanking you for

answering the written questions. We have much to write about from these questions, and we are grateful for your frankness in them. We would like to cover as many of the areas of mutual interest as is possible in this meeting.

Let me begin by saying that in the process of preparing for this meeting, everywhere we have gone we have been told how many prohlems you face, how difficult they will be to resolve. Many people are awed by the audacity of your undertaking. I wonder if you yourself some-times have moments when the task seems overwhelming or impossible, when you hesitate. I want to ask, why will your reform programs succeed, when those of your predecessors, say, like Nikita Khrushchev, have not succeeded?

Gorbachev: I think you have asked the principal question, whose answer our people want to know, and I think Americans do, too, because, one way or another, it is the fate of our two countries, two peoples, whether we want it or not, to live together and to cooperate. And that means that we have to know each other better.

First of all, about our plans. Those plans are truly grandiose. It is precisely for that reason that we call our perestroika [restructuring] revolotionary. You know, it may be paradoxical, but now I am more confident in the political line we have chosen for perestroika, for the renewal of our society, than at the beginning of this road, although we now have more difficulties than before.

What is the explanation for that? I think that we do know better now what we want and how to do it. Therefore we have more confidence. Tomorrow at the Central Committee of the Communist Party we will be discussing the documents being prepared for the 19th national party conference. I can say even now that the national party conference will give a second wind to all our plans and into all our work to implement those plans.

But I think I would sound overconfident to yon if I just confined myself to what I just said. It is obvious that making decisions at this critical juncture to our life is something that carries great responsibility - above all, responsibility to our people. We are not insured against mistakes, but we want to minimize the number we make and we don't want to make major mistakes.

The most expensive mistakes are political major mistakes, and therefore we want our decisions, at least our principal decisions, to be prepared with the involvement of the whole Average Ave openness and public debate, glasnost, in our nomic reforms. It is going to be a continuing society. We shall not retreat from that. Moresociety. We shall not resteat from the will grow out of in our country and outside the country there of what has happened over these three years, to

. .

in the lowering of the actual standard of living of our workers. So you may ask, then what's the point? Well, the point is that prices should be consistent with actual economic processes, with real costs and with the real contribution of the workers. That would create a healthier financial system. And on that basis it would be possible to better

'And so I want to tell you that Moscow, too, is living in an atmosphere of preparations for the visit of the U.S. president.'

organize a system of cost accounting or economic accountability, and to include all economic incentives in every work collective, which will push the country in the right direction.

Through technological progress and improvements in productivity, along the way we will be able to better satisfy the demands of the people and improve the means of production of goods and services, and we are planning to encourage higher quality of both goods and services.

Of course, on this point, on which we are now working, we must carefully devise a system of compensation for the losses that people may incur io the process of changing retail prices. Once we have those carefully conceived and balanced proposals, we will put them to the people for discussion. This is what we promised our people, and we are going to keep that promise. We're not going to do anything without their approval.

Hoagland: We have just seen in the neigh-boring socialist country of Poland that a price reform can create great civil unrest. Do you feel that you can avoid that kind of situation here? Gorbachev: We have a different situation. Our situation is that most of the prices are still under very strict government control. In Poland, a significant portion of prices are set by the production enterprises. In that country, many factories have a lot of leeway in raising pay for their workers. Therefore, when the government adopts certain measures to change the prices, the factories immediately give pay mistakes. We want to insure ourselves against raises to their workers, and to a large extent that

society, the intellectual forces of our society. loosen control over prices and the setting of We want them to be prepared democratically. prices, and how much central control we should This, we believe, is the main guarantee against retain. Probably this cannot be resolved at one mistakes. So that is why we are so persistent in fell swoop. We will formulate these new mechadeveloping the process of democratization and nisms within the context of our ongoing eco-

I am confident, an overwhelming majority of people in Poland favor continuing along the path on which the country started after the war World War IIJ.

Greenfield: If I could just cite one more statement, in Belgrade you spoke of there being no circumstances onder which an intervention by force in another country would be acceptable. Does this mean - I think people in the West believe it means -a situation as in 1956 in Hungary or 1968 in Czechoslovakia could oo obger occur?

Gorbachev: In Yugoslavia I have already spoken out on that point. I only can confirm what I said, f don't have anything to add to that. I would only add that interference is unacceptable from any country. When you speak about interference, I understand what you have in mind. But when I recall those situations, f have something more in mind. I have in mind that before what you are talking about happened, another kind of interference had occurred.

Look how much time has passed since World War II, but even now in some Western countries parliaments or similar bodies find it possihle to adopt resolutions that can only be regarded as interference in the affairs of others. The world has changed greatly in the postwar era, and now even very small nations will not tolerate interference or orders from anyone. Our relations with the socialist countries are relacions of equality based on independence. They are relations of cooperation, of mutual

help. We share many things, including re-sources. We are very dependent on each other. Our interdependence has permitted us to expand our economies during these years and to conduct important social changes in our countries. And that same relationship can be a good basis to help profound changes, restructuring, of economies in these countries, and at this stage can play its own positive role.

Smith: Mr. Gorbachev, looking ahead to the party conference, we'd like your personal reac-tion to a number of specific proposals. For example, do you support the idea of fixed terms of office for party leaders, and, if so, would that include the position of general secretary itself? Gorbachev: Well, you'll hear the answers in the coming days to all such questions. But I

would say one word: yes.

Smith: We hope you'll say a little more than ne word (laughter). Gorbachev: Well, les me anticipate what you

are going to read in the papers in five or six days. The Washington Post wants to find out

Kaiser: (Pointing to Smith) This is News-

Gorbachev: Your empire, then, wants to know things earlier. Greenfield: Our empire is competitive within

itself also, like all empires. Graham: Mr. Gorbachev, the interest in the

party conference is so great, could you not perhaps, even in more general terms, discuss your hopes for this meeting, which is obviously such an important event.

Gorbachev: I certainly think that my expectations coincide with the expectations of our whole society. First of all, we want to take stock

'Why shouldn't we try to work together? We have great experience, yon have great experience ---let us cooperate to master the cosmos, to fulfill big programs."

this is systematically tossed up, and is then broadcast by various "voices" [foreign radio stations] in Russian and other languages into our country. Either this is a wish to understand what is going on in the country, or a wish to toss up speculation which could influence discussion and clash or perhaps to encourage mistrust and perhaps a split in the leadership. It is difficult for me to evaluate what hes behind these systematic statements by the Western press on this subject.

The current leadership of the Soviet Union -including the Polithuro and the government - was formed basically after April 1985, when we set out on the course of perestroika and all our leaders, both our political leaders and gov-ernment leaders, are committed to perestroika and are actively involved in designing and implementing perestroika.

But now, let's just think together and maybe that will make things clearer. When such huge undertakings as perestroika take place, when we need to develop not only the strategy but also the tactics of moving forward, that requires not only active dialogue in the leadership but in the whole society. And that is what has been hannening. The whole country is now an enormous debating society.

And it is natural that to the leadership itself there is lively and constant discussion within the tramework of perestroika seeking answers to those questions that have been put on the agenda by us.

Jesus Christ alone knew answers to all quesoons, and knew how to feed 20,000 Jews with five loaves of bread. We don't possess that skill, we have no ready prescription to solve all our problems quickly. We, together with our society, are seeking answers to all questions. And this is accompanied by discussions, and some-times by heated debate, and that is normal.

Our problem has been that for many years sent leadership only wants to try to develop this socialist system which opened the way for us in there was no such debate to the society, in the party, not in the Central Committee, not in the government itself or io the Politburo. This absence of debate led to many losses, mistakes going to work within the boundaries of the socialism we have chosen. and omissions.

To present these discussions - which are a normal part of the democratic process - 25 division within the leadership would be a great mistake itself. Maybe some people want there to be disagreement, even want the leadership to quarrel and to be split, but that's something quite different. That has no connection to the actual characteristics of the leadership in ont country.

Smith: It seems to us that some of your own supporters, people who back perestroika very deeply, are worried about the issue of political division. There was a letter that we were told about recently in Sovietskaya Kultura in which a writer said, talked about the possibility of a committee plenum "at which M.S. Gorbachev could be ousted." Then he went on to propose a referendum on your leadership and on your ganisms and attempting to harm them.

ics, in the soundual sphere, The sort le of the processes of democratization, and their deepening, will bring forward new, interesting forces, new, interesting people, new, fresh faces.

toward agreement, I thought perhaps that there's been enough movement on the question The idea of perestroika is that it creates a of SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] and that now the Washington declaration [at the De-cember summit] could perhaps serve to come to mechanism that could manage and self-regulate our society within the framework of the democratic process. This will allow the inclusion of the final great problem, it seems to me, on SDI; all people, and the best part, the intellectual which is the difference over what happens at the part, the capable, talented part, to deciding the end of the adherence period. Does the Washprocesses by which to renew our society at all ington declaration solve the conflict over what levels of the management of the country. appens at the end of the adherence period?

Our society won't be as it was. It will change. Gorbachev: I believe that which is cootained The mechanisms of change are beginning to work. A great deal remains to be done. The train is under way and is picking up speed. in the statement on the understanding of the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) treaty in the form that was accepted in 1972 and as we understood I think you don't have enough paper to find a it until 1983 - that does provide a basis to place for all these answers. move forward toward 50 percent reductions in

Kaiser: One more, if possible. About these changes. To me, as an old resident of Moscow, some of the most startling changes are in the new freedom of expression. The newspapers are strategic offensive arms. But only in that way, in no other. I haven't answered the other part of your question. We will work with any American so interesting to read now. Television is so interesting to watch now. You have freed many 'We will work with any political prisoners. You have allowed many of the old "refuseniks" to emigrate. On May 7, you said you wanted "to complete the creatioo of a socialist, legal state." In your very interest-American administration on this important aspect ing written answers to us. you called freedom of speech "indispensable," yet some Soviet cio-zens still get into trouble with the authorioes for what looks to us like attempts to exercise freedom of speech. Partir Arikyan in Armenia and Smeil Construction of a of Soviet-American relations. I have in mind the process of negotiations and Sergei Grigoryanıs in Moscow [editors of a new, unofficial magazine called Glasnost) are in the context of the recent examples. Is this because some of your Geneva talks.' authorities don't get "the new thinking" or is this because that sort of, the things that those

expression of freedom of speech?

socialist values.

the view that changes could happen only within

the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of

undermining the principles of socialism.

cratic process. Democracy is like that. People here know that the Grigoryants "or-

Western correspondents. Therefore, people

in our society sponging on the democratic pro-

cess, sponging on the positive aspects of peres-

There are such parasites living off healthy or-

think of him as some kind of alien phenor

troika.

people have done is not something you consider administration on this important aspect of Soviet-American relations. I have in mind the Gorbachev: Interesting question. I will give a process of oegotiations in the context of the short answer. The most interesting things that Geneva talks to find a way to agree on a new perestroika has demonstrated is that our people, while being firmly in favor of the renewal of society, and of change, have firmly expressed treaty to reduce nuclear arms.

If that happens during the Reagan administration, we would welcome that. If that happens after the election, with the new president, then so be it. We are ready to work. We don't want to waste any time. We are prepared to continue. It

Even advances in the economic sphere like cooperatives, cost accountability, leasing and is up to the United States side now. (Gorbachev rose from his desk at this point individual enterprise, all of this is being disand moved to a shelf to retrieve a model of a

cussed seriously, even scrupulously, in our soci-ety. People ask, "Is this not a retreat from the Soviet rocket.) We are going to invite the president - and I principles of socialism?" Some ask if we are would like to say in conclusion -- to cooperate on a flight to Mars. Here is a model of that rocket. These are pictures of the launching of And that is because 90 percent of the people living today in the Soviet Union were born and that rocket (pointing to color photographs on the wall of his office) sent to me from the cosmodrome in Baikonur, which I visited last have been raised under socialism. And the preall spheres of life. We know socialism, we know its achievements and its problems. And we are orbit. After certain modernizations it will be able to carry 200 tons. Now we are lifting 20

Why shouldn't we try to work together? We That is why everything that evokes in people anxiety that someone has tossed up other valhave great experience, you have great experi-ence - let us cooperate to master the cosmos, ues, including in the idenlogical sphere, this to fulfill big programs. And whatever is being evokes a critical reaction. That is also the demodone in outer space and whatever is being done in SDI to achieve new technological breakganization," in quotation marks, is tied not only organizationally hot also financially to the West, that his constant visitors and guests are throughs.

As a result of a joint project to study Halley's Comet, we have been able to develop dozens of new materials, we have been able to make major advances in electronics and in mathematics. This resulted really in major scientific breakthroughs. This is a field for cooperation that would be worthy of the Soviet and American peoples.

This happens - it happens in nature, too. And I will make that proposal to President Reagan.

### **GORBACHEV:** Joint Mars Trip

#### (Continued from page 1)

friendly brown eyes that draw and keep the gaze of a visitor oo him, and conspicuous ocatness. He conducted the 90-minute interview without reference to notes and with one aide present.

Appearing on an ABC-TV interview program, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Sunday that the interview indicated it was quite apparent he wants to see things move forward, and I think that's good."

[Mr. Shultz said the proposal for a joint Mars mission "caught a lot of attention" in the Reagan admin-about domestic affairs. istration but "has to be studied carefully" within the context of last year's agreement covering joint efforts in space. "We always have to ghanistan "in dealing with the conbe careful with problems of technology transfer," he said.]

Showing occasional flashes of the exuberance and charm that Soviet troops. His formulation did have made him a well-known and popular figure around the world, Mr. Gorbachev sought to create a positive tone for the May 29-June 2 visit by Mr. Reagan, who Mr. Gorbachev made clear had surprised and impressed him.

"Who would have thought in the early eighties ... that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms re- intervention in Hungary in 1956 duction treaty in history?" Mr. Gorbachev said, praising Mr. Rea-gan's "realism" and his willingness setting fixed terms for senior to "take a fresh look at the existing realities, while holding th his wellknown convictions."

Toying with his eyeglass case in the opening minutes of the interview, but quickly putting it aside as he took control of the meeting, Mr. Gorbachev displayed a lively, en- counts that he and Yegor K. Liga- June conference, he said, would gaged intellect as he threaded his chev, the No. 2 official, were locked give perestroika "a second wind" way through questions on Eastern in a power struggle. Europe, economic reform, human But a decision by Soviet authorirights and other topics.

Jesus feeding the multitude with of The Washington Post-News-five loaves of bread to make the week interview, which will be pubpoint that he, like other mortals, could not perform miracles.

He referred to Greek philoso- reports in the Soviet Union. phy, quoted Friedrich Engels' remark that "a woman is an entire civilization," and jokingly apolo-gized for the absence of his wife, Raisa, saying with a laogh, "She is oot an easily manageable person." As he spoke of preparations for the first U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in 14 years, enthusiasm infused his soft baritooe voice, which resonated throughout the large office. But his mood shaded into sober reflection and deliberation when the Soviet leader was questioned about his turbulent domestic political scene.

He likened the heated debates that have crupted around his pro- he said, rely on "the involvement of gram of perestroika, or "restructuring," to "a turbulent sea in which it structuring our country." is oot easy to sail the ship." But he "f think we have learned from is oot easy to sail the ship." But he have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong."

The conversatioo between Mr.

Gorbachev and Katharine Gra-ham, chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co. and four senior editors from The Washington Post and Newsweek magazine was conducted on Wednesday in his spacious, fifth-floor office in the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters.

His remarks were in Russian and were interpreted by The Washington Post.

The written text to the earlier questions dealt largely with foreign

Among points made by Mr. Gorbachey were:

· The Soviet Union will help Afsequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan ecomony" after the completioo of the withdrawal of not specify if military aid would be inchuded

• He reaffirmed a declaration he made in Belgrade in March that East Europeans were free to choose their own political systems. But he voiced confidence that they would "continue along the path" of communism voluntarily, and he de-clined to criticize Soviet military

· Mr. Gorbachev said he favored setting fixed terms for senior party officials, including his own post He indicated this might be present ed at a party conference in June.

buro over perestroika, labeling as and Soviet society were strong "Western media" creatinns ac- enough to overcome them. The

ties to drop Mr. Ligachev's name person was a strong sense of cau-He invoked the biblical story of from the Russian-language version tion, which led him to balance his lished in Pravda on Monday, underscored sensitivity about such

> Asked to reconcile his self-described policy of encouraging free-dom of speech with recent arrests and harassment of Soviet political dissidents, he said Soviet citizens could raise criticism "only within the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of socialist values."

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that "heated debate" had erupted over perestroika within the Soviet tant, Anatoli Chernyayev. populace and leadership. "The whole country is oow an enormous debating society," he said, Efforts by Nikita S. Khrushchev

accomplishment in the close workand others to revitalize the Soviet ing relationship that he and Mr. Union failed because they did oot, Reagan have developed since their the people in modernizing and refirst meeting, in Geneva in 1985.

Avoiding the type of direct criticisms of the United States that added, "We have a compass and we the past," Mr. Gorbachev said have routinely marked public comwheo asked about Mr. Khru- ments by Soviet officials in the hchev, who was deposed in 1964, past, Mr. Gorbachev conceded that Mr. Gorbachev quickly estab- U.S. policy did not appear to be shchev, who was deposed in 1964.

tions continue the arms talks now under way in Geneva in their present form if he and Mr. Reagan failed to reach an agreement before the president's term ended.

We are ready to work," he said. "We don't want to waste any time.

Earlier, in response to a question about his summit diplomacy with President Reagan, he outlined in writing his concept of the "mm from confrontation to coexistence" that he feels the two nations have taken

remain so," be wrote. "We will remain loyal to our ideas and our way of life. But we have a common responsibility.

at the summit level is important a full SDI program.

in his spoken remarks, Mr. Gorba-

"I'm not particularly fond of giving personal character references. But since you ask, I would like to say that realism is an important quality in President Reagan as a politician. By this I mean the ahility to adapt one's views to the changing situation, while remaining faithful to one's convictions." Soviet and American leaders "need such qualities as the ability

elf is strong."

debate was "natural."

Although Mr. Gorbachev is

ference, differences between him

to give up dogmas and discard out-dated ideas for the sake of making REFORMS: New Impetus Is Sought for Perestroika

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while according credit to Mr. Reagan, the Soviet leader also implied that the major factor in ending an era of open hostility between Washington and Moscow had been a change in Mr. Reagan's view of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged indirectly that nn significant new arms control agreement would be concluded at the summit meeting. He again opposed Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, which Strategic Defense Initiative, which discussion of his program at the would put an anti-ballistic missile conference, regarded as the last ueld in space, and U.S. plans for a major hurdle before it has the un-

major deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles. Mr. Gorbachev unveiled his plan to propose to Mr. Reagan that the not easy to sail the ship. But we two nations cooperate on a joint tion of Soviet-American dialogue mission to Mars as an alternative to to guide that ship. And the ship

During the Washington summit meeting last December, Roald Z. Sagdeyev, a Soviet science official close to Mr. Gorbachev, described publicly his own detailed proposal for unmanned missions to Mars that would begin by 1994.

The 1975 Apollo-Soyuz docking and a 1987 Soviet-American treaty for cooperation on space exploration were precedents, he said. In his written answers, Mr. Gor-

bachev reinforced his earlier appeals for global nuclear disarma-ment by denouncing the "balance of fear" theory.

Like the Soviet decision to drop Mr. Ligachev's name from a ques-tion in the official transcript of the sence of debate led to many losses, conversation, the Soviet translation mistakes and omissions. and condensatioo of The Washington Post's written questions pro- seeking to display unity in the Sovivided some insight into the turbo- et leadership on the eve of the conlent political situation here.

A reference to a telephon

was still weighing ways to raise cated that he now discouraged at-(Continued from Page I) prices without sparking unrest. tempts at quickening the pace of Mr. Gorbachev also drew a dis- perestroika. There are many peo-"deepen" these programs and givea "second wind" to his reforms. tinction between Western freedom

The first of its kind since 1941, of speech and glasnost. the conference will bring together These are not identical things," 5,000 Communist Party delegates Mr. Gorbachev said in answers to ment," he said. from throughout the Soviet Union. written questions. "While freedom Mr. Gorbachev appeared anxof speech is indispensable for glas-nost, we see glasnost as a broader ious to steer a careful course between the more radical reformers henomenon. For us it is not just and party conservatives and to crethe right of every citizen to openly ate a positive atmosphere for the

say what he or she thinks about all ty... to ensure openness in deci- nationalist tensions inside the Soviqualified approval of party leaders. sion making, act on criticism, con- et Union and exaggerating conflict "This is a turbulent time," he sider advice and recommendations said, "a mrbulent sea in which it is from the shop floor, public organi-zations and individuals." have a compass and we have a crew

succeed where Mr. Khrushchev failed, Mr. Gorbachev said, is "the Soviet officials have estimated principal question whose answer that at least a third of the Soviet our people want to know, and I rifts within ruling Soviet bodies think Americans do, too." were either "a wish to understand " population and bureaucracy op-

poses or fears reform and many others are uncertain about them. Mr. Gorbachev dismissed remain reason for that is that the could influence discussion ... or ports about rifts between him and process of those reforms did not perhaps to encourage mistrust and Yegor K. Ligachev, a conservative member of the ruling Politburo and rely on the main, decisive force - perhaps a split in the leadership." and that is the involvement of the the party's chief ideologist, saying people in modernizing and restructhat the leadership fully supported his program of perestroiks and that

turing our country." "We want to insure ourselves against major mistakes," Mr. Gor-In the past, he added, "our prob-lem has been that for many years bachev said. "Therefore, we want our decisions, at least our principal there was no such debate in society, in the party, not in the Central decisions, to be prepared with the nia involvement of the whole society." Committee, not in the government Referring to reform attempts by both Mr. Khrushchev and the late

Leonid f. Brezhnev, Mr. Gorbachev said, "I think we've learned from the past."

was "born here in our society, in "We now have three years of our party, in the Central Commithard work under perestroika under tee, with the participation of the our belts," said the Soviet leader, gruent leader the country it ader, current leadership of the country.

ETHNIC: Party Chiefs Removed

(Continued from Page 1)

mountains region.

baijani rulers.

Azerbaijanis.

tion of politics in Azerbaijan.

Armenian majority had long com-

plained of being slighted by Azer-

The grievances fed on a long his-tory of hostility between the Chris-

tian Armenians and the Moslem

strikes that shut factories and schools.

choice but to dismiss both of the - The tensions turned to violence a republic leaders simultaneously. week later when Azerbaijanis in The oew Armenian leader, Mr. Sumgait, roused by rumors of Ar-Arutiunian, has a master's degree menian atrocities, hunted down in philosophy, and spent more than and killed Armenians. More than 20 years as an official of the Com-30 people, most of them Armemunist Party and its youth arm, nians, were reported killed in the se Komsomol, six of them in Moscow. The new Azerbaijani party chief. contain the noting.

Mr. Vezirov, was a senior Komso-In March, the Kremlin refused in mol official during the 1950s and sedraw the boundaries, instead apearly 1960s, when Mr. Gorbachev proving a package of economic and was a Komsomol official from ancultural aid for Nagorno-Karaother district in the same Cancusus bakh. Local officials in Nagomo-Karabakh and Sumgait were m-

For the last 12 years he has placed. But the measures evidently, worked in the Foreign Service as failed to defuse the anger. consul general in Calcutta, ambas-

The latest unrest apparently hesador to Nepal and then ambassagan on May 11 with a violent flamdor to Pakistan, assignments that up in Ararat, an Armenian town appear to have left him untainted near the Turkish border. According by the reportedly pervasive corrupto reports reaching Moscow, homes and cars were burned and an un-The disturbances in the two re-

specified number of people were to hurt in a clash of uncertain origin publics began with Armenian demands for the annexation of Na-

goroo-Karabakh, where the " Lithuanians Hold Rally

Tass reported that thousands of people gathered in the capital of the Lithuanian republic Saturday for an official rally paying tribute to those who suffered under Stalin, The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

in February, hundreds of thou-Tass said the meeting in Vilnins sands of Armenians massed peacehonored the "innocent victims of the violation of laws during the years of Stalin's personality cult."

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ple who are pushing us toward some kind of leap forward, toward some kind of very rapid move-21.1 St. 1.2 S. 11. "But we are going to move in a calculated, measured way," he said, 

"in continuous consultation with the people through the democratic DIOCE Mr. Gorbachev used his meeting the social and political questions; with American editors to accuse but also the doty of the ruling par-the .Western media of fomenting

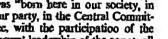
among Soviet leaders. --"This whole theme of deep divi-

. sions in the Soviet leadership as to The question of why he could perestroika," he said, "is being pushed not by Soviet editors but by the Western media."

He speculated that reports about "Those reforms did oot bear what is going on in the country, or a fruit," he said, "and I think the wish to toss up speculation which what is going on in the country, or a

In his written answers, Mr. Gorbachev accused the West of show ing a "morbid" interest in Soviet nationalities problems, which have flared up in the last two years in the Baltic region, Central Asia, and the republics of Azerbaijan and Arme-

Asked about disputes over reform in the leadership, Mr. Gorbachev said that if he did not have the support of the Soviet leadership there would be oo perestroika. He added that the reform campaign



our people are coming forward," here

Page 6



and permit "corrective measures." The second trait he evinced in

We are prepared to continue." ideas as he developed them. He endorsed far-reaching and vi-

sionary goals, such as price reform, in the interview. But he tempered that idea, and others, with messured descriptions of the "carefully conceived and balanced proposals

"We are all different and will that would gradually bring price reform and promised that they would oot lower living standards. Offering his visitors plates of tra-

ditional cookies and cakes, he He added, "The very continuasipped a small cup of coffee. Seated beside him at the polished hard-

wood table was a personal assisand substantive." Asked to evaluate Mr. Reagan, Both in his written answers and Mr. Gorbachev said, in the written

answers: chev displayed pride and a sense of



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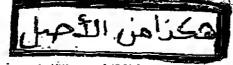


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A question about military re- of the system of setting wholesale

sponse to attacks during troop and retail prices, considered as cruwithdrawal from Afghanistan was cial to the success of his economic dropped, as was a reference to dis- reforms, would not be introduced turbances in the Baltie republics for another three years. This apand Armenia, in a question about peared to signal that the leadership thnie nationalism.

U.S. Wary on a Mission Don Oberdorfer of The Washington Past reported from Washington: The United States has informed the Soviet Union that it is prepared to assist a 1994 Soviet unmanned

probe of the planet Mars, but the Reagan administration considers a

ciate administrator far space sci-ences of the National Aeronautics carried little weight under his pre-

were speaking of 0.3. Sofier outper Mr. Grosz was named Sumoay as eration toward a manned flight to general secretary of the party, re-Mars to take place about two de-placing Mr. Kadar, who was cades from now, Mr. Keller said. named party president. Hungarian But recently, he added, they have sources said that the conference, scaled back to concentrate on un- the first such full party meeting manned missions, which are more since 1957, had been called at Mr. acceptable to the United States as a Grosz's initiative to unseat Mr. Katopic of discussing. dar.

You will find I	below a listing of	POSITIONS iob positions published international Positions.
TITLE	SALARY	EMPLOYER
LAWYER		The World Health Organization.
CAREER OPPORTUNITIES	Excellent	Business Group in Lebanon.
TECHNICAL SALES MANAGER	£25,000	Manufacture of printing.
PLANT BAKER		Cold Storage (Malaysia) Berhad.
SUPERMARKET OPERATIONS MANAGER	Attractive	Cold Storage (Molaysia) Berhad.
HEAD OF EUROPEAN FRANCHISE DEVELOP.	£30,000	Mervyn Hughes International Ltd.
CAREER OPPORTUNITY	Interesting	Pharmaceutical Company.

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that Mr. Gorbachev made to An-drei D. Sakharov when the Soviet history, certain aspects of who introduced his reform pro-dissident physicist was freed from internal exile was omitted, as was the phase "internal exile." Mr. Gorbachev said that reform Mr. Gorbachev said that reform has become a national cause." Uotil the ouster of the radical

said. They are beginning, they are becoming involved in the process Moscow party boss, Boris N. Yelt of renewing our society at all levels sin, last November, Mr. Gorbachev . of social life, government and manwas a fervent proponent of the "acagement celeration" of his reforms.

He added, "Our society won't be However, the Soviet leader indi- as it was. It will change

### Grosz Gained Power in 11 Months. **Transforming Politics in Hungary**

Acting an administration considers a high profile leadership commit-ment to a joint Mars mission to be premature, officials said Sunday. Samuel W. Keller, deputy asso-ciate administration for use scale of the minister in June 1987. Reuters "He is his own man," one scalor ing that Mr. Grosz's forthright and precise manner of speaking set him apart from older members of the minister of the co-nomic policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. Within Hungary, he developed

and Space Administration, said he decessor Gyorgy Lazar, but Mr. garded as a reformer, Mr. Grosz informed Soviet scientists 10 days Grosz gathered power into his rapidly became more radical as ago in Moscow of a U.S. decision to hands to challenge the party leader, prime minister. In September 1987,

The prime minister's post had country's Communist leadership. Curried little weight under his pre-

principle to take Soviet equipment Janos Kadar, as the strongest voice into space on a planned U.S. probe. in the country. For mooths Soviet scientists At a special party conference, were speaking of U.S.-Soviet coop-mr. Grosz was named Sunday as signed to rescue Hungary's stagnat-ing economy. They included a in-come taxes of 20 to 60 percent and the East bloc's first value-added

tax Mr. Grosz has appointed Rezsoe Nyers, who was removed from the roling Politburo in 1972 for his radical economic views, as a special economic adviser. He also has ex-

special political relationship will the party reformer Inne Pozsgay, the head of the People's Patriotic Front, which embraces nonparty Organizations

Like Mr. Kadar, Mr. Grosz is a man of impeccable working-class credentials and a pragmatic nominellectual.

He was born in the northeastern city of Miskolc on August 1, 1930. He first worked as a printer, joined the party in 1945, worked briefly as a journalist and studied at Budapest University and the party col-

Beginning in 1950, he worked in the central party apparatos, serving for a while as a commissioned officer in the Hungarian Army.

He was one of the only party officials visible during the anti-Communist uprising of 1956 and was under a cloud for several months after the uprising was put down by Soviet troops and tanks. In radio interviews in 1986 in connection with the 30th anniversary of the uprising, Mr. Grosz ad-mitted that he had gone through a period of disillusionment with the party and that he had thought of quitting. He said his father persuaded him not to,

In 1961, he was elected secretary of the party committee at Hungar-ian radio and television. He headed the Central Committee's department of agitation and propaganda from 1974-79 before his election to the Central Committee in 1988. In 1984, he became party chief in Budapest, and in 1985 he was elected to the Politburo.

Hungarian officials and Wester observers say that his appointment as prime minister in 1987 was part of a ploy by Mr. Kadar to damage Mr. Grosz's chances as a success by giving him an impossible job with little prestige.

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fs Removed

at shut factories and sions turned to violence,

T when Azerbaijanis in roused by rumors of Ar-atrocities, buoted down i Armenians. More than e, most of them Atha-re reported killed in the pefore troops were sent in perfore troops were setting

ch, the Kremlin refused to the rioting. th, the Kremlin refused to the boundaries, instead ap package of economic and aid for Nagorno-Kan cal officials in Nagorno-h and Sumgait were re-sur the measures evidently defuse the anger. defuse the anger. Aay 11 with a violent flar. rarat, an Armenian low Tarat, an Armenian lova Turkish border. According is reaching Moscow, homes is were burned and an up i oumber of people were a clash of uncertain origin

manians Hold Rally reported that thousands of reported that thousands of gathered in the capital of huanian republic Saturday official rally paying tribut e who suffered under Stain associated Press reported forces:

said the meeting in Vilning d the "innocent victims of plation of laws during the of Stalin's personality cut

### r Perestroika

that he now discouraged a. s at quickening the pare of rouka. There are many poho are pushing us toward kind of leap forward, loward kind of very rapid monhe said

it we are going to move in 1 lated, measured way," he sad continuous consultation site copie through the democrati

. Gorbachev used his meeting American editors to acces Western media of fomening malist tensions inside the Sor nion and exaggerating config ng Soviet leaders. his whole theme of deep dry s in the Soviet leadership is to stroika." he said, "is been sed not by Soviet editors but

Western media." e speculated that reports about within ruling Soviet bodies either "a wish to understand . t is going on in the country, or a to toss up speculation which ld influence discussion ... o haps to encourage mistrus m hars a split in the leadership." a his written answers, Mr. Gr they accused the West of show a "merbid" interest in Som ionalities problems, which has red up in the last two years une tic region. Contral Asia, and the whites of Azerbaijan and Ame

Asked about disputes over a min in the leadership, Mr. Gote es said that if he did not have it provi of the Soviet leaderly e would be no perestroita li ded that the reform campaig as "born here in our socies, i it parts, in the Central Come e with the participation of the arrent cadership of the county Perestructure he said, was pushe new leadership group to the for to wind "Fresh faces ... amound ut peticle are coming forward by ecoming involved in the pros frenewing our society at alles i social life. Sovernment and me genent. He zaded. "Out societ. wielk a it was it will change?

### Clint Eastwood's Latest Soars Just Like a 'Bird'

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss International Herald Tribure CANNES - Clint Eastwood's

uplift

"It's always been a great amb tion of mine to make a film about

CANNES — Clint Eastwood's press conference in the tower of the morning rivaled io attendance Bedford's session earlier in no your front yard." He defended to human be for the tower of "Bird" — two hours Mr. Eastwood was at the festival otives were concerned but 1 just for the world premiere of his "Bird," an interpretive screen blog-raphy of Charlie Parker, the leg-endary jazz saxophonist. Mr.

Eastwood does not appear in the shows, was troubled by drug and picture, but his directorial signa- alcobol problems and by the ambiparters, out ms directorial signa-ture is firmly on it. Based on Joel Oliansky's scenario — itself in-spired by the book written by Mr. Parker's widow. Chan, "Life in E-Flat" — it is free of the studio system's cliches and papier-mache coroner thought his body was that

of a 65-year-old man. Mr. Eastwood has not white-Scott Fitzgerald once wrote that there are no second acts in washed the ugly facts but his is not American lives." Mr. Eastwood a mere chronicle of misery and said after the showing of the movie woe. He gives us the artist as well as - the 12th he has directed. "That the man, with scenes of the saxocomment states Charlie Parker's phonist enthralling audiences, case. His talents lifted him from Forest Whitaker as the s

Forest Whitaker as the saxooblivion to fame, but the pressures phonist and Diane Venora as the upon him were crushing. His strug- wife who loves him hut sharply gle against the odds may have drivreproves him for his dissipation enen him to create, as it has with act their roles in harmony with the other artists. He has left us magic strong direction. As a film, "Bird" music.



**INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988** 

As Sondra Locke smiles, Clint Eastwood acknowledges an ovation Saturday from a crowd in Cannes. as they drove from the bospital

### CHET: Last Days Mark the End of a Jazz Era

(Continued from page 1) summertime place where the living isn't easy. People who had never met him cried when he died. Indian, the last of a tribe that had seen a heap of suffering. He looked Bebop's creators had to live with like he needed taking care of and he

critics who said the jazz they played did and there were always people wasn't really "music." But they all around to do it. His persistence and heard the sounds they'd discovered ingenuity in pursuit of heroin and in the compositions of acclaimed his muse and the ability of that "serious" compositions and on the parched body and spirit to survive such a reientless onslaught earned soundtracks of popular television him (sometimes reluctant) respect series. They worked in Mafia-controlled saloons and collected no from people of all ages, races, nationalities and stylistic preference royalties. They fought alienation who agreed on little else. Chet was by constructing a secret culture the real thing. with its own style and language -"bad" meaning "good" is vintage bebop argot. Heroin was part of the A few years ago, he recalled how huddle. It seemed to cure alien-

ation for a minute. Clifford Brown and Dizzy Gilles-All of this is now a big budget subject, Dexter Gordon, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis and Sonny Rollins-make gold records and play the

White House. Today's young In the 1980s, when on a good night "post-bop" jazzmen wear threepiece suits, arrive on time, drink mineral water and negotiate sixfigure contracts. It is no coincidence that heroin disappeared as respect arrived. The death of Chet Baker dots the last "i" of that sad old story. career move.

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A state of the state

The creases on his face multiplied and deepened and his lips turned in over the dentures he had rope they treat it as a medical probworn since his teeth were knocked

out by angry dealers in San Fran-cisco. He began to resemble an old love and medicine, moving around love and medicine, moving around three weeks here, two days there, in hotels or wearing out welcomes with hosts. The French adored him. He had a methodone prescription from a doctor in Amsterdam. Methadone cures the craving for heroin. On methadone, the grace would be healthy. But he always returned to Zeedijk io Amsterdam for the hot flash he oceded. The Belgian guitarist Philip Catherine describes touring with Chet:

"He would drive from Paris to Gillespie, Art Blakey and John Brussels by way of Amsterdam: Scofield. He figures he's heard sometimes he'd fly up there be-more than 150 Chet Baker concerts embarrassed he had been in the sometimes he'd fly up there be-1950s when he placed higher than tween two nights in Paris. He'd be and he probably knew him as well late a lot and there would be some pie, both of whom he adored, in the very heavy panics. The pay wasn't polls because be was a "great white always what it was supposed to be, Schiphol, Amsterdam's airport. hope" with a pretty face that re-minded people of James Dean. He magic moments in the music, they a flight to Los Angeles, where knew he wasn't in their league yet. made everything else worthwhile." Chet's mother owns a plot. The Dutch impresario Wim Wigt

he was capable of playing as well as jazz can be played, he was dis-missed as a has-been. Great white missed as a has-been. Great white contract but Wigt estimates that Traveling with Baker was no hopes had gone out of style, along Chet earned over \$200,000 after piece of cake. But despite the fact with pianissimos. But it was to a large degree his own fault; falling off a chair on stage is not a good

Chet once told a reporter: "I cult to guess where the money Britain, there was never any trouble have a medical problem and in En- went. One friend recalls Chet arriving

bought a cream-colored Alfa Romeo Giulia with Italian plates. Acturn on the charm. "He was always losing thiogs, cording to Peter Huyts, who drove with him often. Chet was an expert leaving things behind, hut he kept driver who would miraculously sothe mouthpiece Dizzy Gillespie ber up behind the wheel no matter gave him for years. He was very proud of that It had 'Birks' enhow stoned he might bave been. graved on it," Huyts added, refer-

The lanky, bespectacled Huyts ring to Gillespie's middle name. looks too young to be a grandfather of two and too straight to be a road manager for jazz bands. He bad back engagement in New York afbeen running a part-time jazz club when he lost his joh as an electronurday from his home in New Jerics engineer five years ago. Knowing and loving the music, he began to travel with Wigt's clients like sey. Gillespie said: "The major thing he lacked -you see. Chet was so tender. Jazz is

have got be able to get tough sometimes. He was too vulnerable." as anyone, Last Thursday, Huyts was in all his faults."

"I wanted to be with him until surrounded by myths."

handled Chet io Europe and Japan the very end," he said. "I'm sur-in the 1980s. It was not an exclusive prised how much 1 miss him." own outside Paris. Chet told him he

taxes last year. The two albums he that Chet had spent 16 months in wanted to settle down, to travel less made for Wigt's Timeless Records an Italian jail and had at one time. have sold over 25,000 units each or another been deported from and are still selling. It is not diffi- Switzerland, West Germany and first time when he was 8 years old in Berlin in the '50s.

crossing borders. "Not opce," Huyts said. "That

2 West Bank Palestinians Are Killed In Apparent Firebombing of a Car

لمكذا من ألاصل

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches where Mr. Ghanem's wife had giv-JERUSALEM - A car appar- en hirth, bospital officials said. ently hit by a firebomh burst into Abu Kabir, an official at Israel's flames in the occupied West Bank Pathological Insotute, said the two on Sunday, killing a Palestinian died in an apparent firebombing woman and her son. Hospital offi- attack. Arab winesses said the fire cials said another Arab died of a occurred after soldiers fired warngunshot wound after a confronta- ing shots toward the car, which was tion with Israeli soldiers in the traveling through a closed military West Bank zone.

Elsewhere, three Arab teen-agers Kawther Miri, 23, of a refugee were wounded in two separate camp lear Tulkarem, died Sunday clashes, and an Israeli man was of a bullet wound to the chest sufburned seriously in a firebomb at- fered during clashes Saturday with tack, officials and Israel radio said. soldiers, said an official at Rafi-The army confirmed the deaths diveh Hospital in Nablus. Also Sunday, hundreds of pro-testers in Nahlus burled rocks at and said it was investigating the causes.

The violence occurred as about soldiers on an avenue named for 12,000 Palestinian children re-Khalil Wazir, the slain Palestine turned to schools in East Jerusalen for the first time in more than three months. Israel closed the schools during the height of the Arab upris-

ing, which began Dec. 8. The deaths Sunday brought to 194 the number of Palestinians who have died in the ano-occupation unrest, according to the United Nations. Two Israelis also have been killed.

son, Mohammed Salah Ghanem, 36, died when their car caught fire in the West Bank town of Tulkarem

at his house with 30,000 guidens in always puzzled me. But Chet had a player," he said, "only nobody gave a shopping bag. He had recently good 'aet' for the douane. He knew me a trumpet. It would have been good 'aet' for the douane. He knew me a trumpet. It would have been how to play that game. He could so nice to have my old hero living in my village."

Remy La Morvantikanta

Fahri said she loved Chet "with

and the second second

Chet was surprised and delighted when the Dutch trumpet player Event Hekkema told him that he and his teeo-age friends had combed their hair and dressed like him. He had the key to Hekkema's apartment for more than two years. Gillespie got Chet his first come-He paid no rent but was always arriving with gifts and never forgot ter he had learned to play with false to take care of his long-distance teeth. In a telephone interview Sat- calls.

A rehabilitated addict who asked uncollapsed vein. He found one in a gut-bucket thing, great soloists his groin but missed it several times until the needle finally entered. Then his knees buckled and he held on to the sink, moaning "saline solution." The former addict recog-

"He was friendly, loyal, warm," nized an overdose and prepared the she said, "and his music was so solution quickly. He gave Chet the Amal. beautiful. There was something syringe and this time he hit a vein One very special about him. He was in his neck on the first try. Several hours later, when Chet

Joachim Kuhn had recently had recovered and was dressing to found him a house to rent near his go to work, the former addict asked him: "Hey, man, don't you ever get had not had a home for too long, he tired of this oumber?

"It's a drag," he replied. "Hotel for higher prices, maybe take a few rooms and airports and getting students. Kuhn heard Chet for the guys for gigs. I hate the road." "I don't mean that," he said. "I

mean using dope." "He moved me so much I imme-"Oh that," Chet shrugged. diately wanted to be a trumpet never think about that."

Liberation Organization military commander, hospital officials said. Israel reopened 31 kindergarten.

elementary and high schools in East Jerusalem, and the radio said about 80 percent of a student body of 16,000 sbowed up for classes.

A communiqué from the under-ground leadership of the uprising appeared in parts of the West Bank on Sunday calling on students in return to school.

It called for a general strike next Wednesday, the 40th day since Mr. Wazir, known as Abu Jihad, was assassinated in Tunis in what was widely believed to have been an Israeli commando attack

"The Iranians are afraid the Syri-

(AP. Reuters

Page 7

### **TEHRAN:** Lebanese Shiites Wary

fighting.

ed from page 1) The anti-Iranian feeling height-ened after Tehran blocked plans by originate in Moslem West Beirut, with the announcer always making Syria to send 7,000 troops into the embattled area to put an end to the

it a point to say: "This is what Moslems have done to Moslems." In the interview with Al Shiraa, Shamseh Al Kadah, 65, and her Sheikh Qabalan said all his time was devoted to helping thousands of Shiite families who fled their

homes since the clashes broke out in the slum areas on May 16.

screamed during an interview shown on the state-run television station. "Is this the fate Iran wants for the Shines?"

looked to Iran, where politics is dominated by the Shiite clergy of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, for guidance on religious matters. Since Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in Tehran nine years ago, the government he leads has tried to transform this popularity into political and military influence in

Lebanon. It sent 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards to indoctrinot to be identified remembers seenate young Lebanese Shiites and ing Chet strip naked in search of an recruit them into Hezbollah. But oow, portraits of Ayatollah Khomeini in West Beinut have beeo

defaced, and signs saying "Only Berri is Our Leader" have been put The reference is to Nabih Berri,

the Shiite Moslem who heads

One point of vulnerability for the Iranians in Lebanon is that they speak Persian, oot Arabie, When Iran's acting foreign minister, Ali Mohammed Besharati, met with local Lebanese leaders last week, he had to use an interpreter.

"The Iranian republic demands unquestioned loyalty from us," Sheikh Qabalan complained in the interview. He said he told the Iranians: "I reject you because I have experienced you. Leave us alone before it is too late."

the talks there was recognition that the deployment "could work two ways." "In one way it could work to endanger the hostages, and in another way it could work such that it would oot endanger them and would make the hostages safe," he said.

"No misery in the world equals ours," a middle-age woman

ans would clamp down on kidnappers and hijackers who do Iran's terrorist work," said one Shute politician.

The Voice of Lebanon, a Christian radio station, said Saturday that two of the Shiite gunmen who hijacked a Kuwaiti airliner to Al-

urbs Shiite Moslems have traditional-

giers last month had been killed in the fighting in the southern sub-Danger Is Seen For Hostages if

Syrians Deploy The Associated Press

DAMASCUS - Vernoo A. Walters, the chief U.S. representative to the United Naoons, says the Syrian government is aware that deploying troops in Beinut's southern

slums could endanger foreign

Shara.

hostages reportedly held there hy pro-Iranian fundamental-Mr. Walters met in Damascus on Saturday with Presi-

dent Hafez al-Assad and For-

eign Minister Farouk al-

Mr. Walters said that during

1 Months,

### Hungary

Margaret Tratcher of British Within Hungary, he derdoply special Political relationship of the Party reformer Imre Possi the Party reformer Imre Possi the four of the People's Pame Prort while embraces none

מה אובניתבקיוס Lix- V- Kidur, Mr. Grove man w importable workinge trainfiliant and a pragmatic net

He is a port of the northease of Minkels on August 1. If He is the worked as a primer of the party of 1245 worked here is being and and studied at the and the part and the part

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### Herald Eribune. FRENCH COMPANY HANDBOOK 1988

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#### MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

### **OPINION**

# Herald Eribune.

### **Frankly Unproductive**

The Military, Carefully

The politics of drugs suddenly alters the tion and favors the Department of Defense.

To the extent that governments influence the world economy, the meeting last week in Paris was oot entirely reassuring. It was a classic example of the tendency of Americans and Europeans to talk past each other, while the Japanese keep their own counsel. The occasion was the annual ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, whose members are the industrial democracies. It was, as the diplomats like to say, a full and frank exchange of views meaning that oobody won any arguments.

Page 8

The Europeans wanted the United States to acknowledge that personal consumption in America is rising faster than the country can afford. High consumption and the American export boom incite fears of inflation that are rattling the financial markets and making Europe measy.

In response, the Reagan administration argued that there are oo rational grounds for expecting higher inflation. That is oot true, of course; while inflation is not likely to rise dramatically in the coming year, it is clearly rising. But the reality is that it is an election year and the administration has no intention of doing anything that will discourage spending in the next six months. If anything is done, it will be dooe by the Federal Reserve Board --- which was not at the Paris meeting. The Europeans will have to wait until cext year for an administration

mood of Congress. Alarmed by rising public concern over drug-related crime and corrup-

tion, members are rushing to enlist the De-

fense Department in a literal war on drugs.

Both the Senate and the House propose

using the military to stop drug smugglers. The rush prompts some people to fear that Congress may carelessly breach the line be-

tween cops and soldiers. It prompts others to

mock the legislators for meaningless postur-ing. But there is nothing wrong with the basic idea. Use of the military will not stop the drug

ride, yet there are military measures that

could slow it without any threat to liberty at

Interdicting contraband is no simple mat-

ter, with or without the military. There is no

obvious way to sort ont smugglers from the

hordes of aircraft and boats arriving each

day. Small planes taking off from northern

Mexico for the hop across the border remain

airborne so briefly that they are easily missed

by radar. A recent Rand Corporation study

reports that when Coast Guard officers

stopped boats on random patrol, only 2.6

When boardings were based on intelligence

reports, the figure rose to only 12.8 percent.

of interdiction is to reduce demand for

drugs by forcing up the retail price. Yet

suppliers make such enormous profits that

they could easily absorb the sharp increases

in expenses caused by intercepted ship-

Still, even if interdiction alone cannot

contain the drug problem, it can help. Sen-

sible policy would aim to make it more

efficient. The unrealistic approach of the

favor of the Senate's realistic proposals.

ments or the need for evasive strategies.

Furthermore, the most realistic purpose

accent were found to be carrying drugs.

home. They warrant public support.

which it can talk with about inflation. In the meantime, like everybody else, they will have to look to the central bankers for antiinflationary fire prevention.

As for the Americans, they wanted above all an agreement to eliminate agricultural subsidies. The Europeans concede that the present system is grossly wasteful. The OECD's statisticians estimate that by the mid-1980s all of the industrial countries together were spending \$240 billion a year on agricultural supports, twice the amount at the beginning of the decade. The Europeans know that their present system produces huge unusable surpluses. But they cannot agree among themselves on reforms, and in any case they regard these subsidies as an investment in a social stability that they cherish. The Paris meeting agreed that something is going to have to be done, but beyood that it was oot specific.

That is a pretty accurate reflection of the state of the international political economy this season. Macroeconomic discussion is suspended pending the American election. Microeconomic reform meets the deep reluctance of Europeans (and Japanese) to force the pace of social change at home. The Paris meeting concluded that things are going pretty well and that, while there can always be improvements, nobody is making any promises. - THE WASHINGTON POST.

That makes sense. Some 14 agencies oow

fight drug trafficking, hut they are ham-

pered by rivalries and redundancies. For

instance, the Coast Guard and the Cus-

toms Service each run their own mini air

force and plan a oew air command and

control network that would duplicate one

already in place. The Pentagon, with its

deep experience with radar surveillance, is

In the meantime, the bill would immedi-

ately increase surveillance of the southwest

border and would make logistical help from

Defense available for civilian law enforce-

ment at all times, oot just when high offi-

cials declare an emergency. The Senate

would also allow the deputizing of some

seamen to help with arrests on the high seas.

That would amplify the current practice, in

which Coast Guard law enforcement offi-

cers go along on navy ships in order to make

arrests. Another section of the bill would

provide \$60 million to fund states' use of

their National Guards to fight drugs. That

might prompt more innovative and effec-

The Senate measure is part of the De-

fense authorization bill, oow paralyzed by

Senator Alfonse D'Amato's insistence oo

the death penalty for drug gangsters who

commit murder. That proposal only

sounds tough. Drug kingpins already ac-cept repeated threats to life and limh from rival criminals. Adding the chance of capi-

tal punishment in the rare event that they

are convicted of murder is unlikely to

America's drug problem will not be

eliminated with a dramatic stroke, wheth-

ing a federal electric chair or the appoint-

change their calculations of risk.

tive interdiction strategies.

ideally suited to impose order.

# A Centrist Trying to Lead a 'Revolution'

MOSCOW - As he greets you with firm handshake and friendly smile, his warm brown eyes locking on you, he is for a few moments the same Mikhail Gorbachev who overwhelmed Washingtoo last December. He speaks about that summit congenially as he conclude his welcome and takes his seat across the table. But it is another, more somber Mikhail Gorba-

chev who then takes part in a 90-minute interview that dwells on his reforms and his prohlems in the Soviet Union. On his own turn, the Kremlin leader is a study in control and deliberation. Press him on sensitive topics like human rights

and Eastern Europe, and clouds settle on his brow.

#### He holds the banner of reform high, but he slows down the parade when it gets disorderly.

But he holds back the displays of displeasure that have surfaced in his press conferences in the West. If he was all show business when he met the

press in Washington, he is all husiness in Moscow. Long pauses float between sentences, even when he is repeating well-established positions. He is in charge; he also is on guard. Mr. Gorbachev's more subdued demeanor re-

flects a traditional reserve that Soviet leaders display at home when dealing with affairs of state, I am told later by specialists.

But my feeling after interviewing the Soviet leader with a small group of colleagues is that much more is involved. Ronald Reagan is likely to find his superpower parmer preoccupied and busily fashioning a new domestic political balance when the U.S. Soviet summit starts next Sunday. Mr. Gorbachev is a skillful politician. His

essence can hardly be captured in a conversation

By Jim Hoagland

the equally firm way in which he pursues some questions and turns others aside confirms that he seeks change and at the same time demands that it move at a carefully controlled pace.

With deliberation, he draws the boundaries that have to be crossed: The unrealistic state pricing system has to be junked; people have to be encouraged to talk about what changes they want in the party; Stalin's crimes have to be denounced.

But with equal care the general secretary draws the boundaries that cannot be crossed: Price changes will be made only in ways that do oot lower the standard of living; attacks on socialism do not qualify for protection under glasnost: the Red Army's interventions in Prague and Budapest are not to be criticized or altered.

He uses the words "grandiose" and "revolutionary" at one point to describe the nature of the change he is seeking. But that is more a measure of the desperate task he has undertaken and the bankruptcy of the system that he has inherited than of his own political program.

A Moscow intellectual says, "Everyone knows what needs to be done to change this system. But everyone also knows that h is impossible." Simply by saying that change is possible, Mr. Gorbachev has become a visionary in the land of the blind. Mr. Gorbachev acknowledges both the sharp debate here and the speculation abroad about his ability to survive that his reform program has provoked. After listening to him, I conclude that he is genuine in wanting the debate and in saying that he does not fear a Politburo coup.

This is why: As troubles have multiplied around his reform program of perestroika, Mr. Gorbachev has moved to the center. He continues to hold the banner of reform high, but he slows down the

right wing by sitting on Yegor Ligachev in a fight over Stalinism. He strikes out at the perestroika ultras on the left by dumping Boris Yeltsin. He has gradually turned perestroika into a struggle at, and for, the center of the Communist Party.

Both in his remarks here and in his writing there are strong traces of disillusionment with the party that Stalin converted into an instrument of terror, corruption and mediocrity. But Mr. Gorbachev leaves no doubt that he sees a renewed party as the only agent and guardian of change in a society that must maintain socialist values as sketched by Lenin. That provides him with maneuvering room. Lenin, like most politicians, said different things at different times. Mr. Gorbachev can summon up the Lenin of his choice to defend the "adjustments" that he acknowledges have to

be made in pursuing perestroika. Secondly, be sees direct benefits in the rising debate that reform has stirred here. It is pushing forward "a number of interesting people ... fresh faces in our society" who presumably will gradually rise in the party. The fact that they will be his people is lost on no one.

The threat for Mr. Gorbachev does not come from Mr. Ligachev. His dilemma lies instead in the undefined intersection between his own centrist tendencies and his call on others to fight for revolutionary change in his name.

He is demonstrating that he can (and will) survive by watering down perestroika if he needs to, while continuing to proclaim its potency. He will avoid the appearance of having to make a direct choice between power and reform, and will keep the Politburo in line.

But will he then be able to mobilize the "fresh faces" he needs to remake the system? It is the reform, oot the power, which interests them. Mr. Gorbachev risks losing them by giving the impression that he would make the opposite choice if it did come to that.

The Washington Post.

nese have always believed themselves

# hamstrung by the presence of an interpreter. But parade when it gets disorderly. He crimps the

### Pacific Basin: Everybody Isn't Going to Be Japan

## SEATTLE - It is fashionable now to talk of the United States as a

for some time been greater than across the Atlantic, and if trade has gone West, Americans ask, can political and strategic power be long in following?

casting in some projections of Pacific power and of the relative decline of Europe. It is true that if all the Pacific powers grow as Japan's industry has grown in this century, then the world will indeed belong to the Asians in the 21st century. But is Japan representative of its neighbors?

wan today all demonstrate dynamic growth, resembling that of Japan in the 1950s and '60s. It is the same type of growth; export-driven manufacture of consumer goods meant for U.S. and European markets. There has been growth at lower rates elsewhere in Asia, but mainly in raw materials extraction and export. That

tiers of what can be called Sinic civilization. Japan's origins are very ancient, but Japanese civilization and religion derive from Chinese models. The same is true for South Korea. Singapore is a city-state of mixed population but its industry and gov-emment are dominated by its Chinese. Taiwan is dominated by Chi-

nese from the mainland.

certain anti-capitalist and anni-materirecruits to industrial Europe.

political explanations.

**By William Pfaff** to be at the center of civilization, the but exposed and vulnerable, had little Middle Kingdom to which others deferred, and it is possible that their powerful sense of self-sufficiency may choice in the 19th century but to throw itself into a great national effort to remake the nation so as to survive and provide an insurmountable obstacle to compete in an age dominated by the Western nations. In more recent times the radical changes industrialism requires. Current evidence is mixed, the other "frontier" Sinic societies have done the same thing.

Only time will supply an answer. The future Pacific basin economy is still all speculation. Industrial Asia con-Elsewhere in Asia, however, the dominant religions are Islam, Hindn-ism and that passive version of Budsists of Japan and, on world compansons, little else. Japan is the world's third-ranking economy, possibly the second. It depends on how you count. If you take 1986 GNP figures, it comes dhism practiced in Laos, Thailand and Burma. These societies lack a commerlightly behind the Soviet Union. The "three tigers" of Asia - South.

Korea, Singapore, Taiwan — together have a total GNP slightly larger than that of the Netherlands. Their indus-trial weight is 80 percent that of Spain alone, a third that of Italy. China's GNP is smaller than that of Britain. The European Community, on the other hand, had in 1986 a \$3.5 trillion economy, two and a half times the size

of Japan's, one and a half times the size of the Soviet Union's, second only to the United States. It is useful to keep these things in perspective.

International Herald Tribune. C Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

ground that he had talked with

### Food Trade Doesn't Make Sense - Mation

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By Flora Lewis

DARIS - Obviously, food is the I most basic human need. There is an underlying shame that in a world in which 10 or more million face starvation and hundreds of millions suffer malnutrition, the most abrasive trade problem is agricultural surpluses.

Yet that is true. Simplistic attempts to find solutions - by charitable inpulse, by economic manipulation, by political fiat - have only compounded the trouble. Subsidies to farmers or consumers, giveaways, quotas, dump-ing, all have contributed to the mounting mess in the attempt to balance the world's supply and demand for food:

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Rich-ard E. Lyng, in a Paris speech last week called "dumping of huge farm surpluses into the stream of world commerce" a "form of economic pollution" comparable to domping untreated sewage in a river on which people downstream depend for water. It is a vivid metaphor, summoned to support the U.S. demand that trading nations, especially the European Community and Ja-pan, negotiate away farm subsidies. The free market has never been al-

lowed to operate in farm produce, but it is doubtful that it would bring the same desirable results as freeing industrial trade if it were permitted.

For one thing, agriculture is subject to vaganes of nature that must be anticipated. It is man's oldest social activity. The biblical story of the seven fat years and the seven lean years was an early lesson in the need for manage-ment to protect society against wholly untained forces of the market.

But the market also imposes its requirements. Trade experts say the world is producing more food than it can use. That is nonsense, it is producing more food than it can sell at a reasonable margin over the cost. So subsidies are spiraling. Government price supports now account for 47 percent of prices received by farmers in EC countries, compared to 36 percent in 1980. In the United States the statistic has risen past 35 from under 15 percent. The experience of developing countries, the ones that are hungry, shows that keeping food cheep is no solution,

either. In those countries the cities have political clout; to support urbanization, governments devastated agricultural conomics, leading to foreign debt, shortages, serious social distortion. In industrialized countries the farm-

ers have political weight out of all proportion to their numbers, and succeed in extracting benefits at colossal expense to taxpayers and consumers.

The phenomenon is general, but I was particularly struck by it during recent visits to Japan and South Ko-rea. The United States is arguing about their barriers to imported food, which greatly increase domestic prices. for inferior quality. There is an anti-. American consensus on this point, with no countervailing consumer lobby to challenge the farmers' demands. Probing for the reasons brought two

insights, which tend to apply every-where. One is the deeply engraned-sense of a need for "food security," a belief that national self-reliance is an

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Culture counts in the industrialization of societies. In the West it is well known that capitalism and industrialism developed early in the North European Protestant societies, while a alist ethic survives even today in Catholic countries and is one reason why Italy, Spain and Portugal were late

> China had mechanics, irrigation, gun powder and printing long before Europe. Its form of Buddhism is not hostile to commerce. China's failure was that it did not make the transi-

and for that there are historical and

# cial and technological tradition. (Thai-

ly resistant to Western colonialism, adapt that China has lacked. The Chi-

### **Singapore: More Than the Press Is Under Attack**

TTAWA - When American re-

are those which have a cultural resemblance to it. They belong to a civilization of which China, at least remotely, is the source. They are all on the fron-

is a very different matter. The countries growing like Japan

Pacific power - the Atlantic left be-hand. U.S. trade across the Pacific has

There is, however, careless fore-

South Korea, Singapore and Tai-

land's current prosperity is largely the work of its overseas Chinese minority.) They lag in growth. It is by no means evident that Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Burma, etc. are going to become industrial successes on the Japanese model. Nothing that so far

has happened justifies an automatic assumption that they will do so. The question of China itself remains open. It would seem logical that if its cultural offshoots can so successfully industrialize, China ought to be able to

tioo from pre-modern technology and science to modern industrialism, do it. Yet just because the others are on the vulnerable edges of Sinic civili-Japan, on the other hand, stubborn- zation, they may have had a need to

ployment of military forces within 30 days in order to "substantially halt" illegal drug imports within another 45 days. If the House is serious, it had better plan to recall hundreds of planes and ships on defense dury in the Gulf and elsewhere in the world.

The Senate proposal wisely recognizes the need for cautious but constructive and practical steps. It calls on the president to quickly make it thicker. designate a lead agency for drug interdic-

ing too much. Many responses are needed: diplomatic pressure oo supplier countries, aid to local law enforcement, dramatic expansion of treatment for addicts - and more efficient border interdiction.

Civil law enforcement is now able to muster up only a thin hlue line against drugs. Careful use of the military would

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

### **Other Comment**

House legislation ought to be discarded in er it is calling out the marines, construct-

The House amendment famously as- ment of yet another bipartisan commission

somes that the United States can immedia as President Reagan now proposes. No

rs. The bill orders de- good can come from de

#### America, Russia and Europe

If the Soviet Union seems to be abandoning many features of its forcign policy which are objectionable to American public opin-ion, may there not be one of those swings of opinion in the United States which lead to a cuphoric approach to foreign policy? The change in Russia has thrown international poliocs into a state of flux. It oow seems unlikely that all this is merely a ruse which will end with Russia tearing off its whiskers and pouncing. But Russia does have longestablished foreign policy interests and habits which still represent a threat to its neighbors. Nor can we be sure there will oot be a sudden reversal within the Soviet Union which might result in a conservative leader seeking expansionist successes on the old model. Europeans, therefore, must safeguard their own interests, which may no longer be those of the United States.

- The Sunday Telegraph (London).

#### Wronged in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been the scene of some of the most serious human rights violations on record. About half of the country's prewar population of 15,000,000 is either in emigration or internally displaced or dead. Most of the violations that we documented in the past continued in 1987, despite the fact that prospects for peace in 1988 seem brighter than ever before.

Most of the abuses are attributable to the

· .. .

Afghan government and the Soviet troops and advisers who sustain it. The brutality of the war in areas that the Soviet/Afghan forces have sought to control and the sevenity of the repression in the areas they do control have left no respite for Afghan civilians and have caused them to flee in staggering numbers. We also point in violations on the part of

the resistance forces. We continue to deplore the execution of prisoners of war by the resistance, often after a trial that is lacking in most aspects of what we consider due process. Care must be taken in see that the Hezb-i Islami (Hekmatyar), or any other group guilty of gross human rights violations, does not have undue influence in the formation of a new government.

- From a report by Helsinki Watch/Asia Watch, quoted by The Washington Post.

#### **One Serve Should Be Enough**

The ace is absolutely contrary to the spirit of the game. Tennis is a conversation. one player trying to outmaneuver the other as in a game of chess. Bot the ace is brute force. It ends the conversation. It is not what the game was meant to be .... Sometimes matches drag on and get a little boring, and one of the reasons is the first serve. It means a lnt to me to see the game more beautifully played.

- Philippe Chatrier, president of the International Tennis Federation, arguing in The Sunday Times (London) for doing away with the second serve.

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Uporters and editors talk about freedom of the press, some people react skeptically. The press is selfimportant, they say. It exalts its own freedom above others'. At the slightest incoovenience it cries out that the First Amendment is falling. There is something to that criti-cism. We can be self-regarding, and

we do sometimes cry wolf. But freedom of the press is oot a parochial concern. Look around the world and you see that tyranny often begins with attacks on the press. The press's freedom protects the whole society's. Singapore is a case in point right nnw, an exceptionally interesting one. Singapore thrived for years un-der the brilliant leadership of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. Then Mr. Lee began attacking the press - and

that was only the beginning. As Singapore faced economic diffi-culties in 1986, the Lee government put through Parliament a press law allowing the minister of communications to cut the Singapore circulation of any foreign publication that be

By Anthony Lewis finds has "engaged in domestic poli-

tics." Four publications have had the chop under that law: Time magazine, The Asian Wall Street Journal, Asiaweek and the Far Eastern Economic Review. The punishment was drastic.

The Journal's circulation was cut from 5,000 copies a day to 400. Those papers were punished for reports about Singapore or because they would not print, unedited, an official letter denouncing stories they had run. One of the reports was about the arrest and detention without trial of 22 young men and women said by

the government to be part of a "Marxist conspiracy." Those detained as conspirators, 10 of them Roman Catholic church workers, confessed to trying to infil-trate organizations, including the

church, far subversive purposes. They were shown nn television last year reading the confessions. All hut one were then released.

### **The Palestinian Uprising Has Failed**

#### By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — The dawn-ing truth of the Palestinian uprising is that for all its success has diligently refrained from qualias a consciousness-raising exercise. politically it is a dud. The oprising is burning down (though mit out), without having produced either a Palestinian authority or an Israeli government ready for a serious negotiation. The impact of this tremendous explosion of nationalist feeling is dissipating in the air. Some considerable part of the responsibility for this emptiness is Israel's, and not simply because the government has taken the tough line which the political consensus dictates in containing the uprising. More important, during the uprising and for years in the past the authorities have systematically used censorship, arrest, deportation, ecopomic reprisal and other measures of coercion and manipulation to hlock emergence of any Palestinian organization or leadership on the West Bank not amenable to Israeli control — that is, of any authentic and credible Palestinian body.

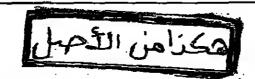
This means that any uprising had to be spontaneous and unplanned.

peaceful resistance (and an Ameri-can citizen) who is facing deportation, hold views consistent with a fying itself as a suitable Israeli nereasonable negotiating position. But the likes of Mr. Siniora and Mr. gotiating partner for any Palestinian partner that might turn up. No less after than before the uprising, Awad cannot claim to speak for the PLO, which in this crisis sticks with the Shamir policy rests on a oneextreme public positions that match the rage of the stone throwers on the West Bank and feed the darker anxisided intent to absorb the land that Jordan lost in 1967 and to parcel out limited bits of "autonomy" to eties even of those Israelis eager to the Palestinians resident there. find a negotiating path. The frustrated foreign minister,

Current polls in Israel suggest Shimon Peres, was in Washington last week. Ronald Reagan embraced that this stance gives Mr. Shamir's Likud an edge going into the Israeli elections in November. Some might him with an ardor that Mr. Peres's think that the uprising unmasked Israeli rivals immediately labeled as interference in Israel's elections. and discredited the Israeli occupation, but Mr. Shamir seems to be taking political profit from it. This not favor a candidate who supports is a bitter pill for those interested in the basic bipartisan American policy of negotiating land for peace? With negotiations to swallow, on both the Israeli and the Arab sides. its immense interest in ending the

Still, it is not all Israel's fault that it has no oegotiating partner. The Palestine Liberation Organization surely represents the Palestinian people, and it operates in places outside the West Bank and Gaza

where it could, if it chose, step forward in a plausible negotiator's It also means that there is a hollow-role. Yasser Arafat, however, has ness at the core of the lament one once again failed to do so: Some hears in some Israeli and other Palestinian factions object to the quarters to the effect that Israel has compromises oecded to bring the no Palestinian negotiating "part- PLO into line with the international ner." The lament skips past the fact settlement formulas accepted at that this is precisely a result for least formally by Israel and the which Israeli policy was designed. moderate Arab states. Meanwhile, the government of Palestinians like Hannah Siniora,



supposed confessions were false and had been extracted from them. They had been deprived of sleep for up to 70 hours at a stretch, they said, kept standing for up to 20 hours in freezing cold rooms, doused with water, hit hard in the face.

The next day those who had re-canted their confessions were taken into detention again. So was a lawyer representing some of them, Patrick Scong. Mr. Scong and two others were later released.

On May 6, ooe of Singapore's most prominent lawyers, Francis Seow, a former solicitor general, ap-plied for a writ of habeas corpus for two of the detainces. A few hours later he was detained. Mr. Seow had been thinking about running for the 79-seat Parliament as an independcot — in opposition to the govern-ment. which now holds 76 seats. (Two seats are vacaot.)

The day after it detained Mr. On April 18, eight of the detainees Seow, the Lee government expelled issued a statement saying that their a senior U.S. diplomat, on the

editor of Al Fajr in East Jerusalem

and Mubarak Awad, an exponent of

But how could the United States

friends, and with its constantly re-

proven dedication to Israel's welfare,

Washington does not have to be shy

What it has to be is active, intelli-

The Washington Post.

about the search for peace.

indispensable protection against possi-bly arbitrary animosity from outside. Seow aboot his political plans. When Mr. Lee started his attack on This is not taught in military academies or geopolitical institutes, but it is a stubborn fact of international relations. foreign papers, he was supported by an American critic of the press. Her-

bert Schmertz of Mobil Oil Corporation said the Lee government was oot The second fact is cultural. Tradibeing unduly repressive — it just "wouldn't tolerate being libeled." tion everywhere is based on rural life. The dizzying changes of modernity, the homogenization of urban societies, Of course there had been no rulevoke a desire to protect the sources of ing that any story was libelous. That was just an assertion by the Lee tradition that are seen as the heart of government. Mr. Schmertz evidently the national culture. So a Japanese

housewife who has oever been on a thought that the mere assertion was enough to justify making a newspa-per print an official letter, however farm willingly supports a policy that makes her pay much more for stringy false, or suffer harsh penalties. Last month Mr. Lee spoke to the American Society of Newspaper Edibeef than she would if she could buy

tors in Washington. In answer to critics of his policy, he said the American concept of press freedom could bring turnoil to Singapore. "I am Asia," he said. "I am not America. I cannot allow American correspondents to decide my national agenda for me." But by now the real nature of Mr. Lee's policy is evident. Even Herb Schmertz must see that it is not a matter of libel. It is a broad attempt hy Mr. Lee to suppress all political opposition. The attack on the press was a signal that a once enlightened leader had become a tinpot tyrant.

Freedom of the press always has its inconveniences for those who hold power. But without it, any society, East or West, will tend to stagnate, with bad policies going unchallenged. Mr. Lee is said to have declared in 1964 that "the closed society must produce the closed mind." He called then for "ideas, not intimidation; suasion, not coercion." Mr. Lee was right the first time.

The New York Times

### 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1888: Empire Expands

LONDON - When Henry M. Stanley was sent to relieve Emin Pasha there were a good many people who doubted whether there was not something else at the bottom of the expedi-tion. The relief expedition was mainly set on foot and the funds provided for it by the "British East Africa Association." By Royal letters patent conflict between its Israeli and Arab that Association, henceforth to be known as the "British East Africa Company," has been granted full powers not only to levy customs and taxes, but to maintain an armed force gent and imaginative. It has to be ready to talk straight with Israel, as President Reagan did: "Those leadand assert authority throughout a vast area in East Africa. The "British East Africa Company" now stands today much in the same relation to England as did the East India

ers who are negative [and] make pro-gress impossible ... will have to answer to their own people for the suffering that will inevitably result." Company. The March of Stanley must serve to open op the country Washington has to listen hard and to from the lakes to the coast, and, at keep trying to forge ahead, especially any rate, will clearly show the new State the prohlems it has to grapple when the local parties lose their way. with and the work it has to perform

in helping to civilize Africa.

1913: Warship of Love WASHINGTON - Choosing a moment when the foreign relations ofthe United States present many points of friction, William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, has given his conceptions of the battleship of the future. He said: "Its compass is the heart; its shells carry good will; its missiles are projected by the smokeless powder of love; its captain is the prince of peace. No target will withstand the projectiles which Friendship sends abroad."

1938: Mexican Revolt

MEXICO CITY -- With the entire Army mobilized against the rebel general, Saturnino Cedillo, President Lazaro Cardenas today [May 22] took command of operations in the San Luis Potoso district to disarm the Cedillistas, or smash them. Federal troops were basy all day, loading planes with bombs, probably to raid Cedillo's headquarters tomorrow.

With the second Anne A territoria ME 62:2:1 5 ::... Sector Sector West and the state of the Mar and a court imports. To a lesser degree, Americans feel the same kind of tug to give a sentimental priority to the 3 percent of \_-See EL RO the population engaged in agriculture. Clearly, agriculture involves social



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E CULT-Line is help to recognize them as the inevitable context of the beef wars and or-ange wars that sound so silly and pro-10.2 ~ 110 voke such anger. A much broader approach is going to be needed. Paradoxically, given the Reagan ad-ministration's phobia of welfare, the United States now backs a principle of Mer Bollar Values An and a set of the se cutting the link between support for farmers and their output - income maintenance that would not be tied to prices. The condition is that other ma-

TRI Bales

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and do the same. It is probably a good idea, but the others aren't ready. The New York Times.

jor farm exporters abolish subsidies

cultural, emotional issues to a much

greater extent than other economic

activity. That is why it is so politically

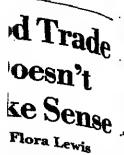
handle with economic rationality.

sensitive and so hard for the experts to

I don't pretend to have an answer

that could make it easier to cut

through these obstacles. But it might



- Obviously, food is the assic human need. Then is ng shame that in a world in andreds of millions safe in, the most abrais that agricultural surpluses is true. Simplistic attempt mons - by charitable in aconomic manipulation b at - have only compound able. Subsidies to fames o ; give aways, quota, damp ine. Substanting to latings of the second se a the amempt to balance the pply and demand for load treatry of Agriculture Rid-g in a Paris speech last weld imping of huge farm surplus tream of world comments" in economic pollution" (true economic pollution" compared anoping untreated scores a which people downstran or water. It is a vivid mennunoned to support the US that trading nations, especial propean Community and la otiate away farm subsidies be market has never been a operate to farm produce, but biful that it would bring the arable results as freeing indus le if it were permitted. ae thing, agriculture is subject λ. nes of nature that must be ted. It is man's oldest soil The oiblical story of the sea s and the seven lean years we lesson to the need for manage d forces of the market the market also imposes is ments. Trade experts say the s producing more food that i . That is nonsense; it is produc me food inan it can sel a 1 able margin over the cost in es are spiraling Government apports now account for 47 poprices received by larmers in R ies. compared to 36 percent in in the United States the statistic en past ?? irom under 15 percen experience of developing one the ones the: are hungry, show seping food cheap is no solution In those countines the cities has ai ciout: to support urbanizana, aments devastated agriculum mies leading to toreign dat ages, serious social distortion. industrialized countries the lanave political weight out of a setion to their auniters, and se in extracting benefits at colored ase to taxy avers and consumer, ic phenomenon is general, but particulativ struck by it done it visits to Janar, and South Ro The United States is argue in their harners to exported for afertor quality There is an ani-



#### EUROBONDS

### \*Inflation Upsets Market **Despite U.S. Assurances**

By CARL GEWIRTZ

onal Herald Tribune PARIS — "I see no evidence of a resurgence of inflation." The words were spoken by U.S. Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d, but financial markets last week turned a deaf ear. Instead, eyes were focused on the rising rate of capacity utilization of U.S. industry to an eight-year high; the 23 percent surge in March exports, which suggested some overheating of the economy; and rising prices of imports and raw

Clearly, with stock prices falliog and bond yields rising, finan-cial markets have concluded that all this signals a surge in inflation.

sooner, rather than

interest rates, some

later, to raise

economists sav.

U.S. officials said this is a misreading. They say that the U.S. economy is in transition from consumer-driven to export-led The Fed should act

growth and that the rise in interest rates, up half a per-centage point from the February low for one-year money and up a full point for long-term rates, will dampen consumer spending and permit the export boom to gather pace without fueling inflation.

Further reducing the danger of inflation-feeding bottlenecks, they added, is the big increase in business spending on plants and component, much of which is bought abroad, adding to the stillhigh level of imports.

But the pessimists say the added capacity will come too late to prevent bottlenecks, and they worry that increases in international liquidity over the past two years will have too much money

chasing too few goods. "Inflation," said Arnold Simkin, a private economist, "is like pregnancy: At first it's unnoticed, and then it's undeniable."

The sharp rise in the Commodity Research Burean index of food and industrial raw materials prices last week was read as a particularly bad harbinger. The index set a three-year high at 246.11, up from only 216.08 a month ago. For chartists, the break above 240 signaled the start of an increase that could take the index to 280.

But Richard Segal, an analyst at Salomon Brothers Inc., took the rise in stride, saying the CRB index was "a poor leading indicator" of rising inflation. He noted, for example, that soybean products account for 12 percent of the index but only for 1 percent of the consumer price index.

The soybean price has doubled in the past year and continues to rise because of parched growing conditions in Latin America and the United States.

ORE WORRISOME, Mr. Segal said, was the 2 percent rise in apparel costs in the April consumer price index, matching the March rise as the largest monthly advance on record, Women's clothing, up 3.5 percent in April, was largely responsible.

For Mr. Segal, the troubling aspect is the fact that apparel is largely imported these days — indicating, perhaps, that foreign manufacturers are finished swallowing lower profits resulting from the dollar's depreciation and are now prepared to raise prices in the United States.

Rising import prices usually fan inflation after a country devalues its currency, but that phenomenon has been strikingly absent during the three-year fall of the dollar as importers cut profit to retain market share.

Against this background, the Federal Reserve Board, if it concurs with the administration's relaxed view about inflation, can sit back and wait for the evidence to emerge to calm the pessimists. But even that can be dangerous. The rise in interest rates in October was a major factor contributing to the collapse in stock prices.

On the other hand, if the Fed is concerned about inflation, analysts said the sooner it acts, the better. What can be accom plished with a half-point increase in the discount rate before the November presidential election will require a much sharper rise afterward, they warn. Brendan Brown, an economist at County NatWest, said a return of investor confidence "is hardly probable before the Fed takes a determined lead, meaning raising the discount rate" from the current 6 percent "and pushing fed funds," the cost of premight loans among banks, to between 7½ and 8 percent. The federal funds rate, currently in a range of 7 to 716 percent, was lifted from just below 7 percent a few weeks ago. When that action comes, the dollar could enter a sustained period of firmness," Mr. Brown added. "Until then, the risk of a renewed sell-off of the dollar - this time sparked by inflation fears - persists." Jonathan Wilmot, economist at Credit Suisse First Boston, agreed. "What the U.S. trade figures have belped to clarify is that the current world situation looks to be one where there is a risk of slightly too much rather than too little demand," he said. "More decisive action to tighten world monetary policy is See EUROBONDS, Page 11

### **Privatization Plan Jolts Dutch TV Democracy**

Herald Eribune.

**BUSINESS/FINANCE** 

By Ronald van de Krol Special to the Herald Tribune HILVERSUM, Netherlands - The Dutch system of public television, unparalleled for its eccentric setup, lofty ideals and sheer complexity, may soon be turned upside down by a new element: the profit motive.

If a number of domestic broadcasting groups and publishers get their way, commercial Dutchlanguage television could become a reality in the Netherlands by 1990. After formally presenting a plan Friday after months of internal negotiations, a consortium now awaits a political decision. The broadcasters hope to turn one of the three existing public stations in the Netherlands into a wbolly commercial operation, ushering in such novelues as rai-

ing wars, corporate sponsorship, commercial breaks in the middle of programs, plentiful light entertainment and a nightly newscast to rival the state-produced ver-

sion. The debate over a commercial channel is likely to be fierce in the Netherlands, which boasts 7.5 million television sets, or one for every two inhabitants. Many people fear that the plan would kill off a unique public broadcasting system that aims to give everyone access to the airwaves, regardless of their financial clout.

"Commercial television would have the money to lure actors, musicians and quiz masters away from public televisioo," said Thomas Notermans, a spokes-man for the socialist broadcasting group VARA.

The big difference between them and us," he said, "is that we want funding so that we can make television programs, and they want to make television programs in order to make money." Ultimately, Mr. Notermans says, commercialization would relegate nooprofit broadcasting groups to a second-rate status, Dutch radio and television currently is peither state-run nor private. Nor is it entirely free of commercials.

Instead, the TV and radio system is organized so that nonprofit broadcasting "clubs" can take turns using the three national octworks to broadcast either their own programs or programming purchased from abroad. The system broadcasts from 5 P.M. to midnight.

To provide continuity, staterun Netherlands Broadcasting Corp. supplies nightly news re-ports on all three channels as well as periodic coverage of sports events.



Logos of the Dutch broadcast clubs seeking to create a commercial network. Foes fear a shift to puff programming.

Like most Europeans, howevcasts brings in another 385 miltion guilders a year. er, the Dutch are no strangers to TV commercials or to foreign These funds, as well as total broadcasting time, are appor-tioned according to the number

Most of the Dutch who own television sets also are connected of dues-paying members each to cable TV. That enables them to club has. wateb broadcasts of the national The goal has always been to create a radio and television de-mocracy that accurately reflects networks of Belgium, Britain, and West Germany as well as an everincreasing range of satellite com-mercial television from such Enthe diversity of Dutch life. In a country of coalition governments glish-language broadcasters as and splinter parties, the broad-Sky Channel, Super Channel and casting system has spawned a patchwork quilt of nearly 30 MTV-Europe.

The proposal to transform one broadcasting clubs. of the three national channels into a commercial, Dutch-laneight large organizations, howevguage station is being developed "denominational," representing such groups as socialists, Cathoby three Dutch groups that have operated for years in the nation's lics, Protestants and evangelical Christians. The fifth, the VPRO, carefully regulated world of non-profit television. But they long ago made it clear that they would is an avant-garde intellectual orprefer to go it alone. ganization.

"If we in Holland don't launch Dutch commercial television, share more similarities, compete somebody else will, eith r by satwith each other to attract wider ellite or from a neighboring counnondenominational audiences try," said Jim Bos, a television executive at the TROS broadcastand have the largest number of dues-paying members. It is these three, TROS, AVRO ing group. He spoke in an interand Veronica, that have banded view to Hilversum, the town southeast of Amsterdam where together and asked for the right the country's television industry to turn one of the three public is based.

"We oced to create a buffer a commercial octwork. against competition in our own language from the outside," Mr. Bos said. "If we don't, we'll see von's three publishers - VNU. Elsevier, De Telegraaf and Pers-combinatie - they aim to finance our advertising revenue flow out beyond our borders."

The television system is fi-nanced mainly by charging each bousehold an annual 158 guilder (\$83) fee for owning a television set and radio, a fee structure that raised 740 million guilders in 1987. A modest diet of commercials before and after oews broad-

sponsorship or product place-ment. He said the venture would probably lose money at first, but that advertising revenue could be nearly doubled from the current 365 million guilders if restrictions

were dropped. "To operate profitably, we would need to be freed from the current ban on advertising on Sundays," he said. "And al-though we don't intend to emu-late U.S. television, it may sometimes be necessary to run commercials during natural breaks in TV programs, perhaps once every half hour."

The proposal by the broadcasting coalition calls for the privati-zation of a semi-governmental body known as the STER that coordinates the broadcasting of ads on TV. The STER would be-come part of Platform BV, a company run jointly by the broad-casters and publishers.

Under the plan, a restricted amount of time for airing commercials would be maintain ed on the two remaining public chan-nels, but all advertising revenue would flow into the coffers of the commercial channel. The nonprofit organizations would continue to be financed mainly by license fees.

"The plan means that both systems can co-exist side by side and survive," Mr. Bos said. Critics disagree vehemently.

Opponents also argue that if The airwaves are dominated by commercial television goes ahead, it will lead to monotonous er. Four of the eight are clearly programming because TROS, AVRO and Veronica will no longer be bound by rules requiring each broadcasting club to devote a certain amount of air time to documentaries and educational television. The remaining three, which

"Hollywood-style entertainment would gain the upper hand," said Mr. Notermans of VARA, the socialist broadcasting group.

A drawn-out political debate is likely to delay a final decision on the future of Dutch-style commercial television. channels in the Netherlands into

In its 1986 coalition agreement, the center-right government of Prime Minister Rund Lubbers Together with some of the naleft the door open to launching commercial television in the Netherlands. But the idea has remained controversial ever since,

> TROS, AVRO and Veronica hope nevertheless to begin broadcasting by Jan. 1, 1990. "We've done our bit. Now it's up to the political sphere to show its hand," Mr. Bos said.

Lucky Stores **Of U.S. Accepts \$2.5 Billion Bid** 

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TO SPACE TECHNOLOGY

TOSHIBA

workers in California, Arizona, Nevada and Florida, would create a Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches SAN FRANCISCO - In a sale expected to create the largest gro-cery store chain in the United retailer with more than \$21 billion in annual sales. Lucky, the largest food company in California, oper-ates 340 stores in that state. States, Lucky Stores Inc. has ac-cepted a sweetened takeover bid from American Stores Co. for \$2.51

California.

Exchange.

California

Department Stores.

share, or a total of \$2.35 billion,

more profitable than those of billion American's Alpha Beta Co. chain. The offer, which must be approved by Lucky shareholders and analysts said. American said it will retain Lucky management and bring Alpha Beta into the Lucky federal regulators, ends more than a year of takeover pressure on Lucky, which is based in Dublin,

group. Analysts said American Stores was paying a high price for Lucky but the efficiencies of the combined operations could justify the cost. American Stores, which also op-erates in the western United States, had increased its bid to \$65 a share They also noted the reputation of from \$45 a share, or \$1.72 billion. Lucky for management expertise. Lucky approved the offer late Fri-day, and its shares closed the day at \$64.375 on the New York Stock Lucky's chairman, John M. Lillie, said that he will stay with the company.

Lucky's stores have been far

The merged company would "American Stores has always likely exceed the sales of either Kroger Co., based in Cincinnati, or Safeway Stores Inc., in Oakland, considered Lucky to be the leading supermarket chain in California and is enthusiastic about the combination of our Alpha Beta opera-The move is also the latest in a tions with those of Lucky," said spate of food industry consolida-L.S. Skaggs, chairman and chief

uons in the western United States. For example, Safeway is selling 172 stores in Southern California to executive of American Stores. John B. Kosecoff, an analysi with First Manhattan Co. in New Vons Cos., and the Ralphs Grocery York, said, "Lucky Stores has built chain recently was bought by Camits success over the last 25 years by peau Corp. as part of the Toronto developer's takeover of Federated maintaining itself as the low price leader. The Alpha Beta operation had its worst performances by be-ing too high-priced relative to the Lucky said it had ended its April

28 agreement to go private in a leveraged buyout led by the investcompetition." American Stores, which plans to ment banking firm of Gibbons, move its headquarters to Irvine, Green, van Amerongen Ltd. The California, from Salt Lake City in buyout would have been at \$61 a July, has said it intends to run the combined operations from Lucky's base in Dublin.

(NYT, LAT)

The Lucky transaction is the sec-ond to fall through recently for Gibbons, Green, which announced Although the Federal Trade Commission might force American in April that it was canceling a \$578 to sell some stores for anti-trust million leveraged buyout of CNW reasons, Mr. Kosecoff said he ex-Corp., the Chicago-based transporpected the effect to be small. Lucky tation manufacturing company. sold its nongrocery operations last because of legal questions. year as part of an effort to avoid a A combination of American takeover by Asher B. Edelman, the

stores, with nearly 1,600 stores and New York investor. It also sold 130,000 employees in 39 states, and Lucky, with 481 stores and 39,000 Arizona and Florida stores.

### **American May Order \$4** Billion in Boeings

By Agis Salpukas News of the latest possible order buoyed Boeing's stock by \$1.50 on New York Times Service NEW YORK - American Air- Friday, to \$50.50, in active trading

hoped to raise through corporate

ditional commercials, corporate sponsorship and "product place-ment," or charging companies fees for using their products visi-

bly oo the air. Mr. Bos of TROS would not say how much the new channel

the channel entirely through traeven within the government.

notices for the reasons brough me ants, which tend to apply our re. One is the Leeph engrand is of a press for food security, a of that national self-rehater by spensable protection against par arheirary murrisons from anth s is not taught in calling academic geopoleucal institutes, but a 61, from fait of unternational minim The second fait is coloural Tak a eners where is based on rural the e diamong changes of moderny, יאמנג מניזע כי ערייבייייבייייבייייביייי S.C. 2 desire to protect the sources dition that are seen as the hand : Rationa rature So a Jamas when it was has never been al akes her hav much more for sur of this who would if she could be works To a reser degree American a the same sind of up to perntanental name to the i perces e population engaird in agroups Clearly, 14 - Line income ser aineral criscos nal issues to a me tealer extern the other course ensities and so hard for the county andle with reasonic rationality. i dent present to have an and العادية المعدية المعادة المعادة through these costacios. But it as the context of the best wars all and the second so sells and for where the second so say and where the second so say the product is second to be needed burned to be second to be needed ninatration of the second of welland initial Suries of backs a principal initial Suries of backs a principal initial Suries of the backs a principal initial Suries of the second of the second initial second of the second initial second of the secon Nation Public Control area | real The New York Times

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## **Currency Rates**

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All figures are as of clase of trading Friday					
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World Index From Margon Sh

## Korea Shipbuilders Pull Closer to Leader Japan

SEOUL - South Korea, which built no boats bigger than fishing trawlers a little more than a decade ago, is forging ahead with its goal of replacing Japan as the world's biggest shipbuilder in the next few ycars.

"Japan, for all its high technol- years," he said. ogy and a relatively comfortable purse, has about reached its peak in

shipbuilding," asserted Choi Yon-bo of the Korea Shipbuilders Association. South Korea's share of the world

market rose to 30.2 percent in 1987, trailing Japan's 34.7 percent, figures from the Korean industry group show. More than a dozen

nations under the Association of West European Shipbuilders held a combined 18.7 percent. Scoul held just 15 percent of the world market in 1984.

China, Brazil and Yugoslavia are emerging as competitors, but Mr. Choi insisted that they posed no mmediate obstacles to Korean ex-Dansion

"It might take Chinese ship-builders, for instance, some 10 years to overtake Korea," said Mr. Choi, who is deputy director of the industry group's planning and coordinating committee.

try's shipbuilding unit said that with the global industry showing signs of recovery from a long slump, it was only "a matter of time" before South Korea sur-passed Japan. "We may cross the watershed in the next couple of

Kim Jin-kuk of the Trade Minis-

But industry officials may be painting a more optimistic picture than their balance sheets warrant. South Korea's four main yards, which among them received about 80 percent of all new orders placed

to the nation last year, have debts and other liabilities amounting to several times their total assets. About 13.2 percent of the indus-

try's total revenue went to interest payments in 1987, about triple the level for South Korea's overall manufacturing sector. Financial problems also worsened because of wage increases of 15 percent to 20 percent granted after widespread labor protests in the past year.

And like other export industries, shipbuilding is plagued by a con-tinuing rise in the value of the South Korean won.

Of the main yards, only the biggest, Hyundai Heavy Industries But Japan led in new orders, Co. posted a net profit last year. racking up 4.8 million tons to

Earnings amounted to only 30 mil-lion wop (\$41,000). South Korea's 4.2 million. "We can probably beat Japan even on this The Japanese plan to cut their score by the end of 1989," Mr. Choi

ment

shipbuilding capacity by 20 per- said. cent, and the Europeans by 27 per- Th cent, by the early 1990s. They have billion worth of ships this year, accused Scoul of failing to help against \$1.16 billion in 1987. reduce the excess capacity threat-

ening the world industry. Mr. Choi argues that Japan and tankers and oil rigs to warships, several other nations have been re- need to increase investment in ship

ducing production capacity mainly design and sophisticated navigabecause of inefficiency or excessive non and communications equipcosts. "The Japanese are writing off

obsolete facilities for lack of profit-about "transferring industrial tech-ability rather than reinvesting to nology to Korea for fear of a booreplace them," be said. "Our installations are still up to date. They don't need to be expanded and can catching up." just stay there so as to help meet the expected growth in demand."

Korean wages are at about half the Japanese level, and steel and other materials are cheaper. 13 million now.

South Korea surpassed Japan for the first time last year in outstandbe scrapped during the next 10 years or so, warranting some reing orders. By the end of 1987, it had more than 6 million gross tons on the books — a hefty 40 percent gain from the 1986 level — against placement orders, Mr. Kim said.

million for Japan, according to Lloyd's Register.

100 Boeing 757 airplanes, an order that could be valued at more than sengers and can be flown by a two-\$4 billion.

man crew. It is powered by two A spokesman for the airline, AJ engines, making it much more fucl-Becker, said that the carrier could efficient than the jets it will replace. make up its mind to the next few

weeks about whether to order the The yards plan to export \$1.3 planes. He said that if American decided

to go ahead with the purchase, the 757s would be used to retire 737s But analysts say the Koreans, who make everything from superand older 727s rather than for expansion. He said that the 757s could be used, for example, to replace the 33 Boeing 737s that American acquired when it bought AirCaL a West Coast-based carrier,

'Japan is generally sensitive" in 1986. American also has placed plane nology to Korea for fear of a booorders in the last several years to merang effect," Mr. Choi said. support an expansion drive in "But our technology is quickly which its flect grew to 420 air-planes, from 231 in 1982. The carri-The Korea Shipbuilders Associaer plans to add about 160 more tion projects that worldwide de-

planes by 1991. mand will soar to 20 million gross If American decides to go ahead, tons by the early 1990s from about would be the second significant order for Boeing since last week, when International Lease Finance Many of the world's commercial ships built in the 1970s will have to Corp. awarded Bocing about threequarters of a \$5 billion plane order, the largest ever for commercial jetliners

TOKYO - Despite the strength of the yen, more than 85 percent of major companies m Japan posted increases in profit in the fiscal year that ended March 31, according to a private research institute. The Wako Research Institute of Economics said Satur-

Japanese Post

**Higher Profits** 

Agence France-Presse

The 757 can seat up to 196 pas-

day that \$5.4 percent of 329 major companies reported better profit in the last fiscal year. It said \$0.8 percent of the companies reported higher sales last year than in the pre-

vious year. The institute said results had been boosted by buoyant domestic demand.

# **ISA PACIFIC GOLD FUND**

NOTICE is hereby given that the Managers, pursuant to clause 15(E) of the Trust Deed, have changed the Final Distribution Date in respect of the Accounting Period ended on 31st December 1987 to 7th June 1988. A dividend of US\$0.25 per Unit will be paid on 7th June 1988 to Unitholders whose names appear on the Register of Unitholders on 24th May 1988 in respect of Units held by them on 24th May 1988.

Holders of Bearer Units should send coupon No.1 either to The Managers, Indosuez Asia Investment Services Limited at Suite 2606, One Exchange Square, 8 Connaught Place, Central, HONG KONG or to The Trustee, Banque Indosuez Luxembourg, 39 Allee Scheffer, LUXEMBOURG.

Holders of Bearer Units who wish their dividends to be reinvested in Units in the above Unit Trust Fund should notify Indosuez Asia Investment Services Limited at the above address on or before 2nd June 1988 in order to qualify for the issue price applicable on 24th May 1988, as published on 26th May 1988. Those who notify after 2nd June 1988 should note that the issue price then applicable could be higher or lower than the issue price applicable on 24th May 1988.

#### By Order of:

Indosuez Asia Investment Services Limited The Managers

> **Banque Indosuez Luxembourg** The Trustee

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Page 10	INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988	Vid Cur 1	Con Mat Price Mat Yis	Vet
	Weekly International Bond Prices         Worked by Credit Suisse First Boston Securities, London, Tel.: 01 323 11 30       Nay 19         Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors.       Nay 19         Attar Net Price       Yes Set 1040 + 154         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC S Mory         Ec C Jun       EC S         Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors.       Nay 19         Tailing I       Yes Set 1040 + 154         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC S Mory         Ec C Jun       EC S Mory         Ec C Jun       EC S Mory         Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors.       Nay 19         Tailing I       Yes Set 1040 + 154         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       File Sta 1040 + 154         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F         Bonk of Nova S Sta 1040 + 154       EC F <th>Corn         Mart         Price         Mart         Price         Mart         Price           70-9         01.04.35         6.37         7.17         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           945         107.45         B.12         7.32         Bace         Nace         Date           947         107.25         S.12         7.32         Bace         Date         &lt;</th> <th>714 92 10214 542 39 774 93 10214 7.34 7.25 676 95 10234 7.34 7.25 816 95 10234 7.34 7.25 814 93 10134 7.747 52 719 92 10134 7.747 57 719 92 10214 7.74 7.67 719 92 10214 7.73 7.93 94 92 1054 7.75 7.93 94 95 10575 527 9.33 94 95 10575 527 9.33 94 95 10175 7.22 7.85</th> <th></th>	Corn         Mart         Price         Mart         Price         Mart         Price           70-9         01.04.35         6.37         7.17         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           944         107.40         B.01         9.06         B         N         P           945         107.45         B.12         7.32         Bace         Nace         Date           947         107.25         S.12         7.32         Bace         Date         <	714 92 10214 542 39 774 93 10214 7.34 7.25 676 95 10234 7.34 7.25 816 95 10234 7.34 7.25 814 93 10134 7.747 52 719 92 10134 7.747 57 719 92 10214 7.74 7.67 719 92 10214 7.73 7.93 94 92 1054 7.75 7.93 94 95 10575 527 9.33 94 95 10575 527 9.33 94 95 10175 7.22 7.85	
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New International Bond Issues	Africa Bank		alers Delay Passing On ] per. As a result, prices of these materials have tended to rise faster	0
Issuer Amount Coup. Price (millions) Mat. or Price end Tours	To Support	New York Times Service	products bave risen by more than than the prices of end products, s 30 percent in two years, mostly the converters have been in a prof	o with cheese.
(millions) Mar. % Price and Terms week Terms	Fresh Loans	tionary pressures in the U.S. econo- my, many companies are holding	because mills are working at full squeeze," Mr. Schuyler said. Ner capacity. But American companies that environment that has a more infla	<sup>v-</sup> creases may not be fain Southwest, for example
E 150 2015 0.325 100 - Over Januarite Liber for Line and	Agence France-Presse — ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — Find- ing sources of fresh loans for Afri-	goods, a spot survey shows.	produce finished paper products tionary flavor than a year ago ( and containers have not been able two years ago,"	or ber of drilling rigs in
Collable of por in 1993. Average life 64 years. Fees 0.3757 Demonstrations £100,000,	<ul> <li>ing sources of fresh toans for Ain-</li> <li>can nations is emerging as a key</li> <li>method that the African Develop-</li> </ul>	may be only temporary, but it casts	to pass along all of these increases Some companies are dealin in their raw materials costs, said with price increases on a case-by	<sup>18</sup> from 1,070 last year.
Violifico: Building \$200 1993 91/2 1011/2 99.63 Noncolloble. Fees 11/2.	ment Bank will support to imple- ment economic recovery on the	some raw materials, as well as other pressures, will translate into a	Robert Schuyler, chief financial of- ficer of Weyerhaeuser Co., the pulp financial officer at Kraft Inc., no	et ply company. Ike the chief economist for I
inter-Finance Crédit \$ 50 1002 pt/ 1004	<ul> <li>continent, officials say.</li> <li>The African economy grew just</li> </ul>	sharply higher inflation rate by year's end, as many economists	and paper company. This is be- ed that Kraft had pushed up price cause the demand for such things of soybean-based salad dressing as writing paper and cardboard and margarines because of sharpl	to increase, the renta
Notonol	0.8 percent last year, up from 0.5 percent in 1986. Analysts have not-	"Pressures are there to hold	"In general, the prices of raw costs have dropped, he said, reduc	se But so far this has
Bonk 5770 578 9992 97.25 Noncolloble, Fees 1426	ed the region's population is rising three times as fast as the economy.	circumstances force people to do		or more that came
Stapon Highway DM 250 1995 5% 100% 99.00 Noncollable, Fees 2%%	<ul> <li>Speaking in advance of the bank's 24th annual meeting, sched-</li> </ul>	so," said James H. McNeal Jr., chairman of Budd Co., an auto parts manufacturer in Troy, Michi-	Materials Costs Are Rising, Faster Than Prices	1980s, when explorate ly, have not been re Kerridge said. Dema
Communication OM 150 1993 6 100% 98.90 Nancallable. Free 2%	<ul> <li>uled to begin on June 1, Kofi K.</li> <li>Dei-Anang, secretary-general of</li> </ul>	gan.		been sufficient to ex ply of idle rigs and p
MicDonald's DM 100 1993 51/4 100 98.45 Noncallable. Fees 2%	the institution, said the tripling of the bank's capital, to \$20 billion from \$6.3 billion, constituted one	bave risen at a modest annualized rate of 2.9 percent. They rose 0.4	Producer Prices Sear	prices. Nevertheless, have been hit with
British Airwriys         £ 100         2008         10%         99.147         — Noncollable. Fees not disclosed.           Discons Group         £ 90         1995         11         104%         — Noncollable. Fees not disclosed.	of the major responses of the group	percent in April, but just 0.1 per- cent when the volatile food and	Index of prices for intermediate goods and	costs. The prices of drill bits, for examp
Status Crickip         2.70         1975         11         104½         Noncollable. Fees 1#%.           2         2         2008         10½         99%         96.13         Noncollable. 52% poyable on subscription and balance du in Dec. Fees 2½%.	is manual in African countries	energy categories were excluded. In Budd's case, the prices of steel	materials. Seasonally adjusted, 1957=100.	nearly 30 percent in Even where there
Woolwich Equitable £75 1995 9% 101% - Cause will be 9%% in first 3 years and 117 over 4 mon		and plastics used to make car doors, moldings and other parts	108	price increases, higher costs have not been
Building Society Liber thereafter, Redeemable of par in 1991, Fees 19/5. Electrolux FF 500 1995 91/6 1001/2 97.75 Noncallable, Fees 19/5.	The meeting is also expected to	have risen sharply, but the prices that Budd charges the auto compa-	107 James H. McNeal Jr.	fully, Kaiser Alumin cal Co. is selling alu
1: Effiso Gutzeit BCU 100 1993 7% 100% 98.25 Noncollobie. Fees 1%%	approximately \$200 billion of for-	nies for these parts have not changed much because of long-	106 Chairman of the Budd Company "Pressures are there to hold	for \$1.15 a pound to nics and others that cans. That is a 20 pe
Merrill Lynch & Co. ECU 75 1990 71/2 101.075 99.83 Noncollable. Fees 11/26.	- refinancing, the provision of new		105 down prices because competi- tive circumstances force people	in 18 months, hefty e sufficient to compen-
Bianic of Nova Scotia C\$ 100 1991 101/s 1011/s 99.50 Noncollable. Fees 11/15.	loans to pay off old ones, in addi- tion to rescheduling payments to	raising prices of finished products	to do zo."	num ingot costs. wh
Pederal Business CS 50 1990 9% 100% 97.63 Noncollable, Fees 1%%	- existing creditors. In comments on Friday, Mr.		103	Although many co is hard to make p
National Australia C\$75 1991 10 1011/2 99.75 Nanatinhia Fam 1864	Dei-Anang said the session will ex- amine the possibility of establish- ing an export-import hank for Afri-	more foreign competition than in years past, the informal survey in-	102	suck, more of them increases now than s
Bank National Victoria & CS 100 1993 10% 101% 99.13 Nanadable, Fees 1%%	<ul> <li>ca to help entrepreneurs involved in export-import businesses.</li> </ul>	dicated. The weak demand has been only partly offset by rising exports, which has been a key fac-	101	The National Fee dependent Business
Grey Trust	Banking officials said such a bank could fill a conspicuous insti-	tor in the nation's surprisingly strong economic performance this	100	small and medium-s reported this week
Development	tutional gap in Africa and promote the growth of African trade.	year.	99 Richard B. Evans Vice President, Kaiser Aluminum	of the 2,000 compar- to a survey during the
BACOB Finance Aud\$ 60 1991 13 101% 100.00 Noncollable. Fees 1%%.	The meeting also is to review the bank's five-year \$7.2 billion lend-	In some cases, rising materials cosis have been offset by wage re-	Although raw material costs bave risen, aluminum sheet	said they had raised 23 percent to the thi
Rural & Industries Aus 75 1991 131/4 1013/4 99.63 Noncollable Fees 1//%	<ul> <li>ing program, which began last year. Under the 1982-1986 lending</li> </ul>	straint or by lower profit margins. This is happening in the paper	JFMAMJJASONDJFMA 1987 1988 survey Commence Department	year and 29 percent ber-December perio
Sank of Western	program, the bank was to invest \$7.3 billion, but only 80 percent of	industry, where inflationary pres- sure is very strong. The weak dollar	1	But these levels are the 50 percent level
Bergen Bank v12,000 1993 5 101% - Noncollable. Fees 1%%. Denominations 100 million yen,	<ul> <li>the total was disbursed as a result</li> <li>of problems related to a devastat-</li> </ul>	bas created great demand for	The New York, Ten	late 1970s, when in major problem.
Bergen Bank Y 10,000 1993 21/2 1017/2 — Coupon will be 21/2% in first 2 years and 6%% thereafter Noncollable. Fees 11/2%.	The meeting is also likely to con-			
Shanghai lavestment y 15,000 1995 5¼ 101% 98.63 Noncollable. Fees 1%%. Denominations 10 million yen.	sider the granting of \$230 million to the Central Bank of Nigeria for	South Africa Is	s Said to Delay Curbs on Insi	der Tradiı
Skoplaank Y 5,000 1993 5 1011/2 - Noncollable. Fees 13/36. Denominations 100 million yen,	export promotion. Sources said the loan would be the largest by the	<b>U</b> Revaers	that it will not be reached this session," Mr. pany L.	aw, beaded by Mr. Ma
Western Australia y 10,000 1993 5 101% 97.63 Noncollable. Fees 1%%.	development bank. The bank, founded in 1966, has	JOHANNESBURG - South Alt laying plans to crack down on insi	ider stock Tony Norton, president of the Johannesburg to propo	lements of the U.S. and I osing a new regulatory s
EQUITY-LINKED	<ul> <li>50 African and 25 non-African</li> <li>members, Mr. Dei-Anang has said</li> </ul>	trading, according to the top legal adv government on the issue.	viser to the Stock Exchange, said investigations by ex- The c change officials suggest improper trading based el comp	committee proposed a Br prising stockbrokers, con
Shin-Etsu Polymer \$ 60 1993 open 100 — Coupon indicated at 44%. Nancollable, Each \$5,000 notwith one warrant exercisable into company's shares at a expected 24% premium. Fees 24%. Terms to be set May 23	the development plan suggested by	"This is very important and un	on information not available to the general account gent. The public is a frequent abuse. He said he thinks the overs	ants and major investors
200 1002 22 100 Marshi Comment	Baker 3d, under which Western na-	stock exchange tells us insider tradi- ning rife," said a Supreme Court jue Margo, chairman of an official of	dge, Cecil "We have not tired of doing these expensive But, a	as with the U.S. Securities ssion, the panel would
Pharmaceutical \$500 1773 378 100 - Vancada 5, 200 100 with the wardin exercice into company's shores of 4,408 yen per share and of 125,80 yen per dollar. Fees 24/4.	and the state of the second seco	charged with drawing up measures to the problem.	deal with the results to authorities who are unable to make a	ad enforce regulations of takeover bidding.
Center Parcs U.K. £ 60 1998 5½ 100 Callable at 101 in 1993, Convertible at 80 guilders per shart and at 3.5553 guilders per pound. Fees 25%.	size free-market principles.	But, he said, reforms will be dela	aved until ly inadequate," Mr. Norton said. It als	o would be charged with
		1989. "Legislation is before the cal tried to get it put through in the last p	parliamen- police over the past decade, but none has been changes	trading, with its powers to the South African Co overtigate suspected case
<b>EUROBONDS:</b> The Market Fears Inflation Despit	Assurances by U.S.	tary session," Mr. Margo noted. "Now 1 have had discussions an		ovesugate suspected call

### **EUROBONDS:** The Market Fears Inflation Despite Assurances by U.S.

H.H. Sheikh Hashlo bun Saced Al Maktoum Vice Presiden Prime Minister of the H.A.E. and Buler of Dubal

on, the better it will bond markets."

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He argued that a tighter U.S. icredit policy and higher interest rates could lift the dollar from its current level of 125 yen and 1.70 Deutsche marks, which would help moderate import-price inflation pithout seriously hampering ex-port growth or fueling imports. Such a move, Mr. Wilmot noted, would also give Japan and West Germany the room they want to raise rates more modestly to curtail

excessive growth in their domestic -Equidity. Others, like Mr. Simkin, disagreed, saying the Bundesbank and Bank of Japan would be sellers of dollars at rates above present levels. That would both curtail domes-

the end of last week in a largely

cidedly bearish, dealers noted that

sellers were almost as scarce as

buyers, Fears of inflation continued to

undermine prices of notes and bonds. The closely watched Com-

modity Research Burean index of futures prices, which covers 21 ba-

sic food and industrial raw materi-

ais, jumped 1.86 points, to 246.11.

A week ago, the index stood at 234.55.

Early in Friday's session, howev-er, the market had bitle response to

a report that the U.S. consumer

down 20/32 on the day. A week

futile effort to attract investors.

Eurobond market. before they rise or arrange swaps while they still are available. Swaps into floating-rate dollars below the London interbank offered rate are the main attraction. The issuers are

relying heavily on Canadian- and Australian-dollar issues, popular with retail investors because of their double-digit coupons. The National Australia Bank marketed an issue of 75 million Canadian dollars bearing a 10 per-cent coupon and interchangeable

with an issue sold last month. The new paper was offered to yield 39 basis points more than the yield on domestic government bonds at a tice moncy supply growth and re-dice their dollar boldings — trading at about 8 basis points be-leaving them ammunition with low the benchmark.

ing a coupon of 91/2 percent, the with the 51/4 percent prevailing, but Issuers, however, remain eager to paper, less the fees, was pegged at critics questioned whether the rela-tap the market and lock to costs 80 basis points over comparably tively high coupon fairly reflected dated U.S. Treasury paper. Outstanding triple-A-rated Eu-robonds were trading in the sec-ondary market at rates 35 to 62 basis points over the benchmark

U.S. rates. Thus, for slightly lower quality, lovestors could pick up a bonds, rather than as domestic issues, to avoid regulatory delays in higher yield — encouraging them to switch into the Halifax paper. In the money market, the Council of Europe Resettlement Fund

announced last week it will tap the commercial paper market for up to \$500 million with Morgan Stanley, Bankers Trust, Daiwa and Swiss Bank Corp. appointed as dealers. In the DM sector, McDonald's, a popular name with retail investors,

the credit quality. In the sterling sector, both Brit-ish Airways and Pearson sold £100 million of 20-year paper aimed at domestic institutional investors. The issues were structured as Euro-

approaching the market. Woolwich Equitable Building Society issued three-year notes dressed up to look like a seven-year issue to comply with British rules for a minimum maturity of five years. For the first three years, the £75 million issue bears a coupon of 94 percent. Investors then can request redemption or accept a float-

ing-rate note in the final four years well received and ended the bearing 17 basis points over Libor.

Enrohend Vields



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May 19

May 19

Falling Bond Prices Fail to Lure Investors ago, the bonds were selling at 100 percent and the five-year issue 7/32. The yield on the bonds rose yielded 8.71 percent. By H.J. Maidenberg

New York Times Service NEW YORK - U.S. securities to 9.34 percent from 9.28 percent the day before and 9.10 percent a bearish mode, as the fixed-income dealers marked down prices of week earlier. Treasury bills, notes and bonds at

Among other Treasury securi-

#### U.S. CREDIT MARKETS Although Friday's mood was de-

ties, the 9 percent issue of 1998 lost 13/32, falling to 98 19/32, with the yield rising to 9.21 percent from 8.97 percent a week ago.

5.97 percent a week ago. The new three-year notes, the 8½ percent issue of 1991, fell 6/32, to 99 16/32, and the yield rose to 8.31 percent from 8.10 percent. period.

This week, the Treasury plans to auction \$8.25 billion of two-year notes Wednesday and \$7 billion of five-year notes on Thursday. On Friday, the two-year notes traded on a when-issued basis to yield 8.10

a toport mar the other to		Cars Bar
price index rose 0.4 percent in		percent.
April. The figure was in line with		Many
stpectations.	U.S. Consumer Rates	large pos
In the afternoon, prices dropped	May 20	short-ten
In the sites tools, prives dropped		
sharply in thin trading after the	Tax Exempt Seeds Bond Bayer 29-Band Index 7.57 %	that the
government said the federal budget	Ooto setal success means	tinue to a
surplus in April was roughly 35	Money Market Funds	But the
billion below the \$19 billion that	Development a second to second a	selling in
union below the origination	Bank Money Market Accounts	
many economists had expected.	DODY KINC MARKING MARKING	Given
Late in the day, the bellwether	Home Martpape, FHL8 average 193 %	large pos
916 nercent Treasury bond due m	Source : New York Times.	and shor
2018 was being offered at 97 27-32.		liquidate
The source of the day A week	المحمود المتوال المتحر أبادي الهذور الم	

market certainly is, participants tend to ioterpret all news as io a u.S. S. Inffi Just., 8 yrs & even negative light, as they did the bud-get surplus figures," said Robert H. Chandross, chief economist at U.S.S. Init'l last, a tyrs & over public issuers, a yrs & over other issuers, a yrs & over ether issuers, 9 to 2 yrs Paunds sterling, 5 to 7 yrs Franch france, last shea 9 yrs ECU, 6 yrs & over 5 to 2 yrs Lloyds Bank. The U.S. Internal Revenue Ser-S 107 yrs vice, Mr. Chandross said, was or-dered to keep overtime to a mini-Cam. S. S to 7 yrs AUL S. S to 7 YES mum during April and to sharply reduce the number of temporary workers hired to process tax re-N.Z. S. Jess than 7 yrs Yes I YTS & over 5 10 7 115 ceipts during the peak of the filing Weekly Sale On Friday, the discount rate on Primary Morkel

90-day Treasury bills rose 13 basis points, to 6.28 percent; the six-Straights Convert. FRNs ECP Total month bills were up 8 basis points, to 6.64 percent; and the one-year Is gained 7 basis points, to 6.99 lany speculators had acquired positions in these and other -term instruments in the belief Smelgins Canvert. FRMs ECP Tetel the stock market would con-

e to decline. at there were no buge wayes of Source: ng in the sluggish stock market. iven the high cost of holding positions, many speculators short-term traders decided to Deutsche mark Pound storslag Franck franc ECU date their holdings.

### Singapore's Foreign Reserves Increased 10% in January

Agence France-Presse

SINGAPORE - The foreign toserves held by Singapore rose to \$15.5 billion in January, up 10 per-Ant from a month earlier, accordrencies.

uted the rise to government reserves in U.S. dollars and 20 per-investment policy and the 1987 bal- cent to 30 percent in yen.

ance or payments surplus of \$1.2 About 10 percent to 15 percent billion, twice the figure the country they said, is probably invested in registered in 1986. West German marks and about 20 The foreign reserves are largely percent in British pounds, made up of gold and foreign cur-

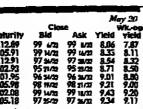
One banking source said the The breakdown of foreign cur- monetary authority may have etary Authority of Singapore. Reacting to Saturday's an-noncement, bankers and manag-ers of financial institutions attrib-

31,12,89 15,05.91 31,12.91 15,02.93 15.01.95 15.05.96 15.02.08 15.05.18

Yte

6-month 7 9/16 3 13/16 5 1/16 6<sup>3</sup>/2 4 3/16 1-enoteti 7 1/16 3% 7 9/14 7 11/16 5 15/16 6-marath 77/16 346 775 775 6 5/16 446 Source: Reuters i Javde **Treasury Bonds** 

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#### INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

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Page 12	INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIB	UNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988		
NASDAQ National Market	Sales In         Net         Sales In         Net           100s         High         Low         Close         Choe         Net           100s         High         Low         Close         Net         Net           100s         High         Low         Elected         104         Net         Net           101         High         State         Low         Elected         104         Net         Net           724         High         High         Elected         20         Net         Net	Solies In         Net         Solies In         Net           Tobs High Low Close Chipe         100s High Low Close Chipe         100s High Low Close Chipe           High S .90 4.4 397 2014 1916 2014         JANS Tr 1.80 10.2 20 1414 1334 1334 14         14           Shibi S .         57 514 514 144 144 144 144 144 144 144 144	Scries in         Net         Scries in         Npf           1005 High Low Close Chipe         1005 Nigh Low Close Chipe         1005 Nigh Low Close Chipe         1005 Nigh Low Close Chipe           ISIT s         21655 594, 5514, 544 - 16         PBC/Mar 72 48 11/21 104, 104, 104         1114, 104 104, 104           ISIT s         2165 594, 5514, 544 - 4         PBC/Mar 72 41148, 1044, 104, 104, 104         1114, 1044, 104, 104           ISIT s         107 416 4 4/4 + 4         Peo/Wart         1066 2279, 22 2279, + 44         114           ISIT s         107 416 4 4/4 + 4         Peo/Wart         1066 2279, 22 2279, + 44         114	
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New York Times Service NEW YORK — Ending months of speculation about a possible takeover fight for Orion Pictures Corp., John W. Kluge, chairman of Metromedia. Co., has reached an agreement to take control of the movie and television production company for an estimated \$78 mil-

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Orion Pictures said Friday that Metromedia had agreed in princishe to buy the 2.5 million Orion shares and 2.76 million warrants of Orion Pictures held by the investor Summer M. Redstone; his two companies, National Annusements Inc. and Viacom International Inc. and the estate of Michael Redstone.

. The accord would eliminate the. possibility of a takeover fight beiween Mr. Khage and Summer Redstone, who are Orion's biggest shareholders. It also would protect the Sceancis, New Jersey based. company from any unfriendly bid-

share, or about \$47.6 million. In addition, it said that Metromedia would pay \$11 a warrant, or common stock. about \$30.4 million. The warrants Analysts said

Orion's stock dropped 12.5 cents ous distribution outlets on cable, said. Friday to close at \$15 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Redstone has been taking steps to reduce heavy debt from his \$3.4 billion acquisition last year of Viacom, a diversified media conglomerate. The investor and his companies are expected to make a substantial profit on the Orion deal,

A spokeswoman for Viacom said that company alone would make \$18 million. The amount of other profits from the Redstone sale could not be determined:

Mr." Kinge, "who "already "coutrolled more than 39 percent of Metromedia's purchase of the Orion's stock, is known to be a

warrants, or 66.6 percent of Orion's to buy additional shares in Orion Analysts said that owning Orion ing the Redstone stake, Metrome-

### **Cablevision Seen Set on Bass Unit**

NEW YORK -- Cablevision Industries, a cable television operator in Liberty, New York, is close to acquiring some of the assets of Wometeo Cable Co. from the Robert M. Bass Group of Texas, according to industry executives. Sources valued the stock deal at about \$750 million.

casting Co. in 1986 for \$620 million. It later acquired Taft's stake.

Alexis Alexis Bels State Alexis Alexi had been a surprise. Before acquircan be exercised to buy Orion stock would have given Mr. Redstone a dia already had a large enough at S6 a share. 

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New York Times Service

Wometco, which operates cable systems in the Southeast, has about 440,000 subscribers. The Bass group is said to have put up the

assets for sale last month. Cablevision is believed to be close to acquiring about 300,000 subscribers for stock and assumption of debt, with Bass retaining control of about 140,000 subscribers. Bass bought into Wometco in a 50-50 venture with Taft Broad-

1355 834 474 474 1331 2 71301 3 71301 4 71301 4 91134 1374 184 1.2 91134 1374 184 1.2 91134 1374	der. trolled more than 39 percent of Metromedia's purchase of the Orion's stock, is known to be	a casting Co. in 1980 for 5020 million, it taler acquired Tart's stake.	2014 2717 F 4 13 F Bacing 40 1914 3 F 6 2017 25 3518 6 F 5 5012 40 1914 F F F	AT 45 1 146 1-16 13-16 41 45 1-16 1-46 13-16 41 45 1-16 1-46 14 Enton 40 1 7 346 7	11346 115 r 4 15-16 646 11346 120 r 246 645 946 11346 120 r 246 645 946	5716 40 1.14 171 1/2 2 5716 30 r 4.14 516 r 5976 70 3 3-16 5 r 5976 40 5 r 6 2074 NtrA 40 36 16 36 r	UTinen 30 444 5 7 6 37% 35 2m 2 7 7 37% 40 7 34 244 7	
	NASSDAQ National Market         OTC Consolidated trading for week ended friday.         Sales In 1005 High Low Close Crise         Sale In 1005 High Low Close Crise         Sale In 1005 High Low Close Crise         Sale In 1005 High In 200 Crise         Sale In 200 Crise <th co<="" td=""><td>a         Tristice         Tail (a)         Tail (b)         Ta</td><td>1000         1000         1000         1000         1000           1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000           1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000           1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000           1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000           1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000         1000        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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

By Robin Finn

# **MONDAY SPORTS**

#### SIDELINES

#### Timmermann Sets World Shot Put Record

ATHENS (UPI) — East German shotpatter Ulf Timmermann broke the world shotput record with an effort of of 23.06 meters (75 feet, 8 inches) Sunday at an international meet in Chartia, Crete. The previous mark, of 22.91 meters, was set by Alessandro Andrei of Italy August 12, 1987. Timmermann held the record of 22.62 meters in 1985 and 1986.

### Lottery Gives Clippers Top NBA Draft Pick

NEW YORK (AP) - The Los Angeles Clippers, the only National Basketball Association team that has not made the playoffs in the past 10 years, won Sanrday's NBA lottery and the first pick — expected to be Danny Manning — in the June 28 draft. Manning, a forward who led Kansas to the NCAA title in April, had 2,951 points on 59.3 percent shooting in his college career, and 1,187 rebounds. Los Angeles, 17-65 this season, went into the lottery with two chances to win the

top pick because of a 1986 trade with Sacramento. The Clippers also won the Kings' No. 6 first-round pick. The order of the first seven picks are, after the Clippers: Indiana, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Golden State, the Clippers again and Phoenix.

#### Rose Breaks 3-Way Tie to Lead in U.S. Golf

FORT WORTH, Texas (AP) — Clarence Rose, with four birdies on the back time, took a three-stroke lead after Saturday's third round of the Colonial National Invitation golf tournament. Rose, a nonwinner in his cight seasons on the PGA tour, broke out of a three-way tie for the lead with a five-under-par 65 for a 10-under-par 200. Joey Sindelar's 15-foot (4.5-meter) hirdie putt on the final hole completed a 67 that left him alone in second at 203. Ben Crenshaw was next with a 68.

Lanny Wadkins, who shared the lead through the first two rounds, shot a par 70 and fell five shots back at 205, tied with Mark Calcavecchia, who had a 68. Scott Hoch, also a co-leader through the first 36 holes, had a 71 and was tied at 206 with Mark Lye, John Huston, John Mahaffey and John Inman.

New York Times Service EDMONTON, Alberta - The goal deficit, took pains to rid itself of it in the third period. Oilers waited just long enough for the Boston Bruins to make Friday Grant Fuhr was beaten by Bosnight's game dangerous, and then, provoked by a 2-2 ne, Wayne Gretzky slid into the slot and gave

ton's first shot of the period (and STANLEY CUP FINALS

Edmonton a 3-2 lead. One empty-net goal later, the Oilers were half-way to their fourth National Hockjust its eighth of the night), when Bob Joyce wound up just above the left circle and blazed a shot into the ry Leagne title in five seasons. Gretzky glided along in front of Rejean Lemelin until the goalie net at 00:35,

made a motion to challenge him, and then shoved the puck under the The Bruins kept the pressure in the Edmonton and until Ken Linseman managed a second goal at 3:16. Linseman looght off Kevin Lowe at goalie's outstretched stick 11 minutes and 21 seconds into the final the right circle and then took a shot that Fuhr kicked right back to him; period. Jan Kurri put the fourth goal into an empty net at 19:53. The Bruins had been ineffective Linseman snapped the rebound just in the early going, belying their own predictions of an awakened inside the right post.

ing game. That goal was apparently the in-It was a scenario the Bruins offense. But after Edmonton spiration the Oilers needed to trans- needed to avoid, but each time they

second period.

Gretzky Excels as Oilers Take a 2-0 Lead scored two power-play goals, its form themselves back into the ag- used physical methods to attempt offense operated half-heartedly — gressors, and Gretzky, already the to slow the swirl of Edmonton al-and Boston, undamied by the two-architect of two previous goals de-usekers, they wound up in the pend

gressors, and Oretzry, aready the to slow the swin of comonton area architect of two previous goals de-flected by his teammates, followed through with the game-winner. The Bruins had made the only logical change they could by choos-ing Lemelin to protect their goal, til this season tended net for Ed-monton's arch-rival, the Calgary but a cascade of penalties after the monton's arch-rival, the Calgary midpoint of the first period erased Flames. "But knowing them whatever lift his return might have doesn't always mean you can stop

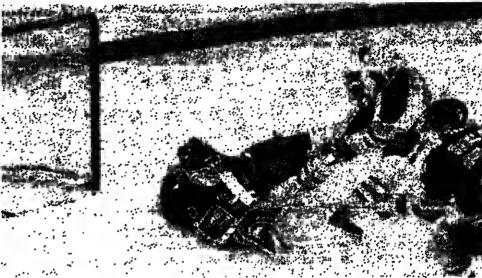
provided. The Bruins, fresh from them.' Twice the Oilers were sufficientchastising themselves for their 14ly manhandled to draw two-man advantages, and they scored goals shot performance Wednesday, challenged Fuhr only price in the both times. The tallies came on deflections of shots fired by Gretzky, leaving Lemelin no chance for saves. "Like anybody" cise, Gretzky has a pattern," satu Lemelin. "The trouble is, he has about 10 patterns." The early penalties to Boston gave the Oilers just the opportunity they wanted, a clear avenue toward rejuvenating an offense they be-lieved to be somewhat limp in the

Instead of the equality with which the teams ducked in the first period of Game 1, this time the Oiler power-play units created havoc in the Boston zone.

The Oilers took a 1-0 lead at 15:57 of the first period when Glenn Anderson planted his stick on the ice beside Lemelin's right skate and mudged Gretzky's low shot from the slot beneath the goalie's right leg. The Oilers continued to press, and Lemelin, disturbed by the pressure. took a delay of game penalty that , was compounded 25 seconds later \* when Randy Burridge was waved to the box for high sticking.

The Oilers needed just 24 seconds of their two-man advantage to sneak another goal past Lemelin. This time Mark Messier parked alongside the right post and redirected a Gretzky shot at 19:30.

The second period featured much milling around in the neutral zone, a situation that caused the further deterioration of Boston's offense, Bruin shots came from far



(AP) Wayne Gretzky, beating Rejean Lemelin for the deciding goal at 11:21 of the third period in Game 2. out and usually were off-net.

# percent gain that day was crased on Thursday, when the index fell 2.6 percent.

#### Amsterdam

Stock prices rose moderately during the week, as the ANP-CBS general index closed at 240.7, compared with 237.5 the previous Fri-

Dealers were relieved by the report that the U.S. trade deficit fell to \$9.75 billion in March from \$13.83 billion the previous month, but they were concerned about rising interest rates Volume rose to 7.12 billion guilders from 5.77 billion the previous week.

#### Frankfurt

Stocks gained during the week, with the Commerzbank index rising to 1,327.4 on Fri-day, up 25.2 points from the previous week. Prices were hart by fears of inflation but

helped by favorable corporate news. Volume on the eight West German stock exchanges totaled 11.57 billion Dentsche inal Index fell 4.92 points to 965.26 points. marks, up from 8.19 billion the previous week.

Hong Kong Prices on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange retreated in light trading. The Hang Seng index shed 41.39 points to close at 2,491.24. The Tokyo Stock Exchange had a volatile week as the key Nikkei Stock average closed at a record high Monday but then suffered its largest daily loss of the year on Thursday. The 225-blue chip Nikkei average finished Friday at 27,393.85, down 74.46 from a week Trading was dull carly in the week, but the index alid on Thursday and Friday. Average daily volume was 653.4 million Hong Kong dollars, down from 845.4 million the previous cartier.

WORLD STOCKS IN REVIEW / Via Agence France-Presse

Paris French stocks eked out small gains during, the week, held back by upward pressure on '.

interest rates, analysts said. The CAC share prices index closed at 310.9, up 3.2 from 307.7 the previous Friday. Analysis said the Bourse has shown little

reaction to the recent presidential election and the impending legislative elections.

#### Singapore

Stocks in Singapore lost ground, following weaker, performances on overseas markets prompted by fears of an increase in U.S. interest rates.

Volume fell 6 percent, compared with the

previous week, to 103.1 million units.

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#### C New York Times, edited by Eugene Maleska

#### **DENNIS THE MENACE**

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SNEADS

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

#### BLONDIE



to a reporter's error, the Press erroneously reported that Don King had been convict-ed of armed robbery. Actually, Mr. King served time for manslaughter." (LAT) • Pittsburgh Pirate outfielder Andy Van Slyke, when asked if there is anyone on Earth with whom he'd like to trade places: "My wife, so I could see how wonderful it is to live with me." (AP)

in a correction after boxing promoter Don King claimed the paper libeled him: "Due

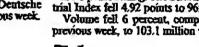
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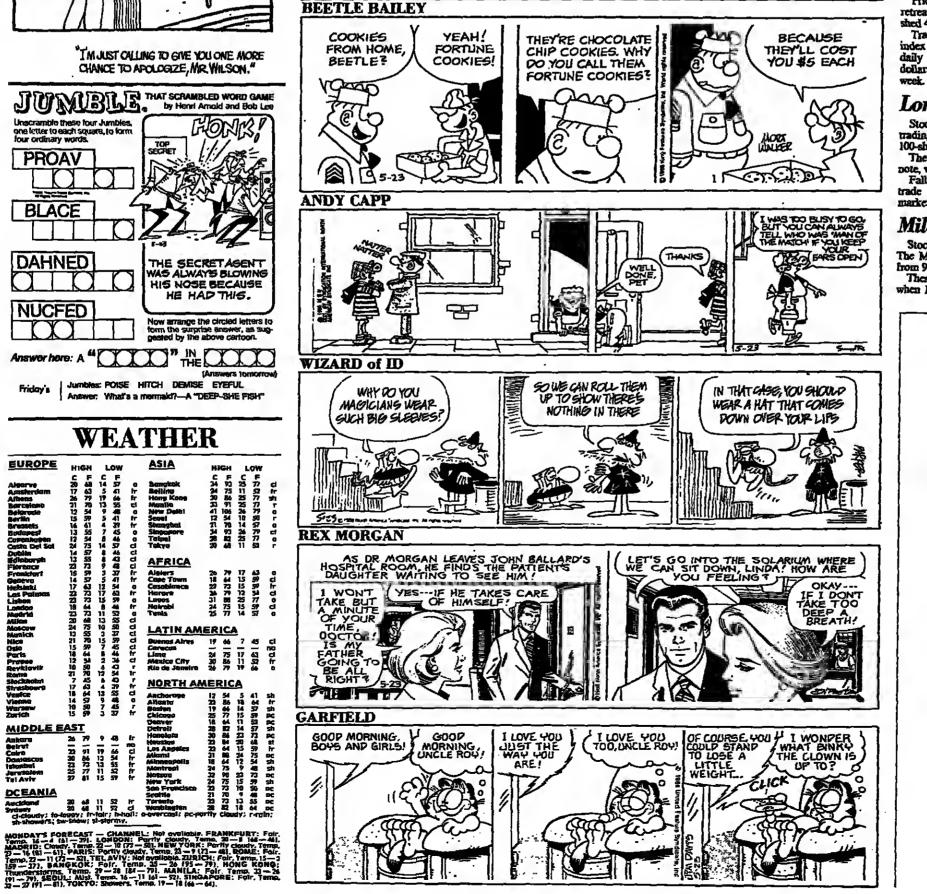


TIL токло

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SINNERS

Quotable • Hall-of-fame golfer Ben Hogan, 76: "I dreamed one time - and this sounds crazy - that I made 17 holes-in-one, and on the 18th hole I ipped the cup and I was just madder than hell." (L47) (LAT)



مكنامد الأحل

#### London

Stocks in London lost ground in nervous trading during the week. The Financial Times 100-share index fell 11.60 points to 1.770.20. The market began the week on a hesitant pote, worried about the strengthening pound. Falling British interest rates and the U.S. trade report prompted a recovery, but the Zurich market continued to fret about inflation.

#### Milan

Stock prices in Milan fell in listless trading. The MIB share index finished at 975, down from 997 the previous Friday.

There was some demand on Wednesday, when Fiar reported good earnings, but a 1.2

Swiss stock prices enjoyed a moderate recov-ery for the week, with a gain of around 1.5 percent. The Swiss Bank Corp. indicator rose to 482.6 from 475.2.

The market got off to a sparking start Mon-day, with the Nikkei average soaring 291.56 to an all-time high of 27,759.87. Prices fell on inflation fears for the next three days, however, with the worst loss of the year coming on Thursday, when the index dropped 394.34. Average daily volume rose to 1.03 billion shares from 886 million.

Despite the rise after four weeks of de-pressed performance, operators were pessimis-tic, concerned that foreign investors are coning to stay away from Zurich. time

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#### Page 15

### Lead

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ed so much against know them and their said Lemein, who no-n tended net for Ed-ch-rival, the Calgary 3ut knowing them ys mean you can give ys mean you can stop

Otlers were sufficient ed to draw iwo-man and they scored goals The tallies came on of sbois fired by aving Lemelin no area. "Like anybody" has a panern," said the trouble is, he has the equality with ons ducled in the first

ame 1, this time the ay units created havton zone. took a 1-0 lead at rst period when Glenn inted his stick on the

nelin's right skate and ky's low shot from the the goalie's right leg. ntinued to press, and arbed by the pressure of game penalty that ided 25 seconds later Surridge was waved to gh sticking needed just 24 secwo-man advantage to r goal past Lemelin. lark Messier parked right post and redi-Av shot at 19:30 a period featured around in the neutral tion that caused the ioration of Boston's shots came from far were off-net.

#### e France-Presse

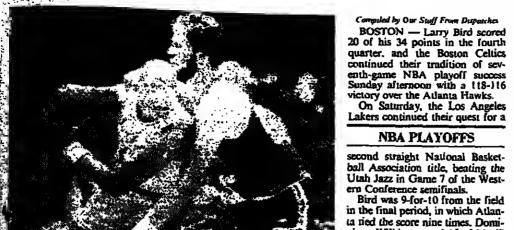
crased on Thursday, reen!

small gains during pward pressure on

idex closed at 310.9. tous Friday. se has shown little dential election and lections.

ground, following overseas markets rease in U.S. inter-

sh, although there traits Times Indusin 965.26 points. compared with the



Utah Jazz in Game 7 of the Western Conference semifinals. Bird was 9-for-10 from the field in the final period, in which Atlanta ned the score nine times. Dominique Wilkins scored 16 of his 47 points in the fourth period, but in was not enough to stop the Celucs Bird broke the last tie, 105-105.

**Celtics and Lakers Each Win Showdowns** 

with a jumper with 3:34 left, and then made it 112-105 with 1:43 remaining with a three-pointer. Allanta got no closer than two in the final minule. The Celtics won the last two

games of the best-of-seven series after falling behind 3-2 with a loss at Boston Garden on Wednesday. That was only the second loss in their last 70 games at home against a Central Division team. The Celtics next meet the Detroit Pistons in the Eastern Conference final series, beginning Wednesday in Boston.

Lakers 109, Jazz 98: In Inglend Press Kareem Abdul-Jabbar of the Lakers, left, trying to muscle past wood. California, Byron Scott Utah's Mark Eaton during a first-half confrontation Saturday night. scored 29 points on 12-of-19 shoot-

Computed by Our Stuff From Dupanches BOSTON — Larry Bird scored points, 11 in a pivotal third quarter, 20 of his 34 points in the fourth quarter, and the Boston Celtics to be the first team since the 1969 Celuics to repeat as champions. Los Angeles, in its seventh straight conference final, faces Dallas in a bestof-seven series beginning Monday. Obviously I'm ecstatic," said Pat Riley, the Laker coach, "I had respect for Utah before this series

started. 1 don't think we'lt play nyone who will be tougher. The Jazz, who have never advanced past the second round, were

playing their first-ever Game 7. "I've been in coaching for 32 years on various levels," said Coach Frank Layden, "and I've had teams go farther than this, hut I've never been prouder or happier with a team.

Celics 102, Hawks 100: In At-tanta on Friday, Boston held off a late surge to up the Hawks. With Boston ahead, 101-93.

Glenn Rivers scored five straight points to make it 101-98 with 2:46 remaining. After a scoreless span of 2:13. Danny Ainge hit nne of two free throws, the last of his 22 points, to give Boston a 102-98 edge with 33 seconds to play.

Wilkins, who had a game-high 35 points for the Hawks, connected four seconds later to cut the deficit to 102-100. The Celucs then let the 24-second clock expire to set up Atlanta's last shot; Cliff Leving-ston drove the lane but Boston center Robert Parish deflected the

(UPI, AP)



Risen Star, under Eddie Delahoussaye, at the finish line Saturday.

## **Risen Star Wins Preakness Stakes**

**MONDAY SPORTS** 

للكذا من ألاصل

night, and Roussel said he consid-ered scratching the colt up to 45 New York Times Service ered scratching the colt BALTIMORE - Risen Star, minutes before post time.

their horses as they were over the

whose trainer nearly scratched him An afternoon of sunshine began from the race, benefited from an to dry out the track in the hours early duel between Winning Colors before the race. The change in the and Forty Niner to score a 14- weather was a relief to the Preaklength victory in Saturday's 113th ness trainers, who had been wor-reakness Stakes at Pimlico Race ried as much about the safety of Course. Brian's Time rallied to finish sec-The Preakness is t

By Steven Crist

ond and Winning Colors, the filly The Preakness is the second leg who had won the Kenucky Derby of thoroughbred racing's Triple two weeks earlier, was another t<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Crown, which has not been swept since Affirmed edged Alydar in all lengths back in third. Risen Star, who finished third three races in 1978. The series, behind Winning Colors and Forty which begins with the Kentucky

behind Winning Colors and Forty which begins with the Kentucky Niner in the Derby, shot through Derby, concludes this year with the along the rail inside those two turn-ing for home. It was a perfect trip Stakes on June 11. and one made possible by the early battle between the two favorites. The winner, ridden by Eddie De-thouverner de the state of the Betmont is for home. It was a perfect trip battle between the two favorites. The winner, ridden by Eddie De-thouverner de the state of the Betmont is for home. It was a perfect trip battle between the two favorites. The winner, ridden by Eddie De-thouverner de the state of the between the table of the between the table.

tahoussaye, covered the t-3/16 Derby, Saturday was trying to be-miles (1,910 meters) on a track la- come the first filly to win two legs beled "good" in 1:56-1/5, the slow-of the Triple Crown. est Preakness since Personality ran Four fillies had won the Preakthe same time in 1970. The track ness, most recently Nellie Morse in was drying out after four days of 1924, but none ran in either of the

rain, hut its condition did not ap- other Triple Crown races. The last pear to be a factor in the outcome. filly to try the Preakness was Genu-Private Terms was up to finish ine Risk, who finished second to fourth, 2½ lengths behind Winning Codex eight years ago.

Colors, and was followed to the D. Wayne Lukas said that under wire by Cefis, Regal Classie, Forty normal circumstances he would wire hy Cefis, Regal Classie, Forty normal circumstances he would Niner, Sorry About That and Find-have scratched Winning Colors. er's Choice. Risen Star was the "It's a dangerous track," the trainer fourth betting chnice in the field. said after walking it Saturday Owned hy Louie Roussel III and morning, "It's the kind of track I'd Ron Lamarque and trained by usually scratch a good borse from Roussel, Risen Star is a tall, lanky because you'd be worried about an son of Secretariat, who won the injury. But you have to give ber a Triple Crown in 1973. He is Secre- chance since she's the only horse

By mid-afternoon, though, Lukas

tariat's first son to win a Triple who can win the Triple Crown." Crown race.

Roussel had said only three days was much happier about the track earlier that the chances were "99 condition. The first three races were percent against" Risen Star's even run over a sloppy surface that eing entered in the Preakness, seemed to be favoring stretch-run-When be did enter the colt, he said ners, but sun and wind had removed he was doing so reluctantly. Rous- almost all of the water from the top sel said Friday night that the colt of the track by the time of the fifth would not run "if there is one more race, when the track was upgraded drop of rain." It rained most of the from "sloppy" to "muddy,"

## Braves, Racing to Early Lead With 5-Run First, Beat Pirates

. Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches PITTSBURGH - Bruce Benedict's two-run double completed Atlanta's five-run first inning Sun-

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

sota's only hit as the Texas Rangers

change-up that was high. I really

wanted it, but you've also got to

walked Gene Larkin, the next bat-

ter, but struck out Kent Hrbek and

got Tim Laudner to line into a dou-ble play. The left-hander struck out

wo, walked two and hit a batter. Kilgus was bidding for the third

no-hitter in Ranger history. The

last no-hitter was pitched by Bert Blyleven against California, 6-0, on

Sept. 22, 1977. Blyieven was the

Minnesota pitcher Saturday. Tigers 3, White Sox I: In Chica-

hit home runs and Jack Morris al-

lowed five hits in seven innings as

Detroit handed the White Sox their

Red Sox 8, Angels 4: In Boston, Mike Greenwell went 3-for-4, in-

cluding a three-run homer, and col-

lected four RBIs to power the Red

Yankees 3, Athletics 2: In New

York, Rick Rhoden, who came off

the disabled list nn Saturday,

sixth straight defeat.

Sox past California.

, Chet Lemon and Darrell Evans

have a little luck."

day and the Braves went nn to SUNDAY BASEBALL defeat the Pittsburgh Pirates, 6-4. Rick Mahler, 4-4, the starter, albase hit of the inning off Bob Walk, second when Andres Thomas doulowed four runs and eight hits over

Bob Galb

4-3, who allowed six runs and six hled to run his hitting streak to 10 713 innings to win his fourth hits in three innings. straight, Bruce Sutter gave up two Albert Hall walked and stole sec-

......

Cubs 5, Reds 1: In Cincinnati, be lined a double to left-center with waukee, Glenn Braggs and Robin hits in getting his fourth save. ond ahead of Diou James' RBI Benedict's double was the double and Dale Murphy's triple. Braves' fourth run-scoring, extra-Gerald Perry's double to left made rookie Mark Grace homered and Gerald Perry's double to left made drove in four runs and pitcher Greg

six innings. Frank DiPino went the final three innings for his second save. Maddux, who had doubled

and scored on Grace's homer, hit an RBI single and scored on

ninth, giving Houston the victory.

Alex Trevino singled with one out for his fourth hit of the game and Jackson followed with a double off Ken Dayley, 0-1. Dayley had not allowed an earned run in his previous six appearances this season, covering 5% innings. land, Parker (5).

Orioles 7, Mariners 2: In the American League, in Baltimmre, Jose Bautista and Mike Morgan combined on a five-hitter and Larry Sheets and Cal Ripken Jr. Seettin homered as the Orioles downed Seattle, building a two-game winning the streak for the first time this season.

the weekend duel of American

League divisinn leaders. Candelaria, 6-2, retired the first

14 batters, striking out seven. Dave

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Contioned 02) 200 213--11 14 6 Mew York 001 000 200-3 7 1 Welch, Honeycutt (8), Eckersley (8), Plunk, (9) and Hossey, Mercada 19) ; John, Allan 14, Staddard (8), Shietds (9) and Skinner, Geren (8), W--Welch, 7-2, L--John, 2-1, HR--Oak-Lond Darter (5)

 Index, Parker (5).

 Colliformia

 Boxton

 Boxton

 100 900 018 9--2 0

 Finley, Buica (3), Harver (10) and Wyne-opr, Boards

 Index, Buica (3), Harver (10) and Wyne-opr, Boards

 Colleman (10), W-Buice, 1-2, L-Clomens, 6-2, Sv-tammer, 6-2, Sv

Bettingere Bill one Job-2 5 1 Longston, Jockson (8) and Brodley; Wil-lemson and Trilleton, W-Langston, 43, L-Willomson, 1-2,5VW-Jockson (1), Hor-Cant

SATURDAY'S RESULTS AMERICAN LEAGUE

French Open Draw The draw for seeded players at the French Open tennis championships, which begin Monday in Paris (sections in parentheses) :

TENNIS

First Period — ), Edmanton, Anderson (7), IGretzky, Tikkaneni, 15:57 (po); 2, Edmanton, Metaler (11), (Gretzky, Kurri), 19:20 (po). Penolites; Thelyen, Bos Iniph-Micking), :301 Jourdy (10), Sweden y S. Jookim Nystrom, Miller, Bos, molor (Bahting), 3:09; MCClef-Bos (sloshing), 3:57; Greag, Edm (hooking), Bos (sloshing), 3:57; Greag, Edm (hooking), Iniph-Micking), 10:21; Kurzda, Bos, Sisty: Simpson, Edm (hooking), 10:201 Anstroliz, vs. Andrei Chesnokov (14), Sovider Sisteking), 15:48; Lemelin, Bos, Served by Nee-Iy (delay of some), 10:21; Auridge, Bos MEN

Guillerma Perez-Rokina (15), Ara

U.S., vs. Cily Hakami, U.S.; Eliza

Alberto Moncini, Argenting; Korel Novocek

Steffi Graf I II, West Germany, vs. Nathalle Guerras, France; Halle Cloffe, U.S. vs. Mary Joe Fernandez (161, U.S.; Lori Mcheil (?),

Australia, vs. Hana Mandilkova 101, Austro-lia; Gabriela Sabatia) 161, Argeniina, vs. Malder Laval, France; Kurnika Okamata, Jo-

pen, vs. Sandra Cocchial (14), italy: Reffacila Reggi (12), italy, vs. Sabrina Gales, Yugosla-via) Petro Huber, Austria, vs. Manuela Ma-

ceva (5), Bulgaria. Claudia Kakde-Kitsch (?), West Germany

vs. Angeliki Kanneliosoulou Greece: Claudia Parulik, West Germany, vs. Svivlo Hamika (15), West Germany: Katerino Moleeve III), Bulgaria, vs. Cotherine Tanvier, France: Ju-

Bulgaria, vs. Comerine Tarwer, France; Ju-diff Wiesner, Austrik, vs. Chris Evert (J), U.S.; Helene Sukova (J), Czechoslovakia, vs. Isabei Cueta, Wasi Germany; Stephanie Rathe, U.S. vs. Zies Germany; Stephanie Ila Zverewa (J3), Soviel Union, vs. Loura Ge-nere Univil Embeleite Medicate Merry J. vs.

lorsa. Italy i Patricla Medrada, Brazil, vs. Marting Navyatilava (2), U.S.

vakin, vs. Stefap Edberg (2), 5m

SEI 19), U.S.

Grace's double. Astros 2, Cardinals 1: In St. Louis, Chuck Jackson dnnhied bome the tie-breaking run in the Friday's and Saturday's Major League Line Scores BASEBALL Matvin, W-LaCoss, 3-3 L-Smith, 2-3, HRs-Montreal, Rivera 121, San Francisco, N

HR-New York, Johnson (6).

Lu-Clémens.6-2.5-Boston 203 600 Dex-6 12 1 Krawczyk, Ciburn (5) and Boare; Hurst, 511 000 000-2 5 1 (a) and Booley; Wi-(a) and Brodley; Wi-(b) and Booley; Mi-(b) and Brodley; Wi-(b) and Brodley; 
odo (6), Clark 191, Speler (1), Melvin (5),

Yount homered to back the pitch-

Milwaukee, which had scored

(6), Pena (8) and Dempsey, Sciascia (9), W-Fernandez 2-1, L-Sutton, 3-3, Sv-Myers (6),

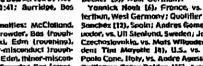
HOCKEY Stanley Cup Finals GAME 2

(AP. UPI)

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300 980 906-3 6 2 300 301 00x-7 6 1

2 0 2-2



beat the Twins, 3-0. Saturday night. "For a pitcher like me to throw a game like that, I've got to make 110 perfect pitches," Kilgus said. "In the seventh I said: "Lord, if you give SATURDAY BASEBALL two-hitter and hit an RBI single as me a perfect game. I'll tell everybody it was Yours.' Gaetti hit a

ARLINGTON, Texas -- Paul Kilgns pitched seven perfect in-nings before Gary Gactti led off straight victory. the eighth with a double for Minne-

Montreal downed the Giants. Can-dy Maldonadn's second-inning sinand Chris Speier's seventh-in- worked out of a one-out, bases-load-

Kilgus Loses Perfect Game in Eighth, But Blanks Twins, 3-0, on a 1-Hitter

in seven innings for his fifth hitting streak to 14 games with a pair of singles.

Expos 6, Giants 0: In the Nation-al League, in San Francisco, Floyd Andy Van Slyke's three-nun home Youmans pitched his fourth career run broke a fourth-inning tie and carried the Pirates over Atlanta.

Phillies 4, Padres 3: In San Dicgo, Von Hayes hit a two-run homer. Juan Samuel added a bases-empty



Blue Jays 4, Brewers 0: In Mil- ed Chicago's four-game skid. The wankee, Dave Stieb allowed six hits losers' Jeff Treadway extended his

it 3-0 and ran his career-best hitting streak to 12 games. The Braves made it 6-0 in the games and James singled him

Red Sox 12, Angels 4: In Boston, ing of Mike Birkbeck as the Brew-Dwight Evans led a 16-hit Red Sox ers hroke out of a hitting slump Maddux scored twice for Chicago. attack with three hits, including a and beat Toronio. Grace hit a two-run homer, his attack with three hits, including a third, in the third inning and a two-two-run single in a five-run third

run double in the fourth. Maddux, 7-3, gave up one run on six hits in

inning, and Bob Stanley surren- only nine runs in its previous five dered twn hits in a 5%-inning relief games, broke a four-game losing stint as Boston downed California, streak.

two out in the fifth.

Brewers 7, Blue Jays 1: In Mil-

SCOREBOARD

bon units.

nge had a volatile k average closed at t then suffered its r on Thursday, a average finisher 74.46 from a weeff

earking start Mone soaring 291.56 to

fears for the next ie worst loss of the when the index aly relame rose to multion.

a moderate recovain of around 1.5 orp indicator rose

our weeks of dears were pessimisinvestors are conartch. 1

first victory since opening day. Indians 9. Royals 5: In Kansas City, Missouri, Julio Franco, Ron Kittle and Cory Snyder homered to spark Cleveland to its ninth victory

in 11 games. Orioles 3, Mariners 1: In Baltimore, Keith Hughes tripled bome Billy Ripken in the eighth to help the Orioles snap a three-game losing streak.

ning bloop single were the only hits ed jam in the eighth to pace Philaoff Youmans, who retired 18 of his delphia. Gaetti's line drive to left-center first 19 batters. field, came on a 1-0 pitch. Kilgus

rst 19 batters. Mets 4, Dodgers 8: In Los Ango-Cardinals 7, Astros 4: In St. les, undefeated Dwight Gooden Louis, Tony Pena's three-run home pitched his 19th career shutout and run with one out in the 11th gave joined Dave Stewart of Oakland the Cardinals their victory. and Greg Swindell of Cleveland as the only eight-game winners in the Cubs 11, Reds 6: In Cincinnati, Vance Law's two-run bomer and

major leagues. Gooden also singled run-scoring double highlighted a in two runs as New York won it six season-high 18-hit attack that end-straight. (AP, UPI) (AP, UPI) Henderson broke the string when



Bruce Hurst and first baseman Dwight Evans picked off California's Gus Polidor Saturday in Boston.

## The Best in Tennis Brace for French Open

By Robin Herman New York Times Service

PARIS - Virtually all of the world's best tennis players have gathered here for the French Open, the second leg of the grand slam and the year's biggest clay-court event.

The tournament begins Monday ou the rustprange courts of Roland Garros Stadium, which only players bred on clay used to find appealing and others tended to avoid. But this year just a handful of familiar players will be ng -- chief among them Jimmy Connors - all because of injuries.

At the top of the draw is Ivan Lendl, the world's No.1 player who pocketed a pair of clay-court warmup tournaments, Monte Carlo and the Italian Open, before arriving in the City of Light. Mats Wilander, who won the Australian Open, will be trying to capture this second piece of the grand slam. He is seeded third by hind Stefan Edberg.

but with participation so high, the men's day w is especially tough, even in the early ro. ads. Lendi would meet John McEnroe, back fro 1 a six-month break, as early as the fourth ror. d, for example. McEnroe is currently rat ked only 19th worldwide because of his long tence. Anders Jarryd meets fellow Swede T kim Nystrom in the opening round and Australia's smashing Pat Cash, the fourth seed, could face a strong clay player, Spaniard Emilio Sanchez, in the second round.

2

1

French interests will inevitably focus on compatriot Yannick Noah, who is seeded sixth compatinot rannick (voan, who is second state Among the elders: Martina Navratilova, 31. here after consistently poor showings.

-- in the second round.

Then there are the Argentines. A strong contingent of these clay-court artists includes 18year-old Guillermo Perez-Roldan, who took Lendl to five sets in the final in Rome, and Martin Jaite, 23, whom Lendl encountered in



Olivies Boitct/AP

Mikael Pernfors - a finalist here two years ago the Monte Carlo final. The lure of French clay has even brought out Guillermo Vilas, at 35 the

Argentines' senior representative and a past French Open champion, albeit 11 years ago. On the women's side, Argentina has a top contender in t8-year-old Gabriela Sabatini, seeded fourth. But expectations are high for 19year-old Steffi Graf, the world's top female player and seeded first here. She won the tournament last year, the first major tournament victory of her accelerating career. The tall and

powerful West German also has this year's Australian Open under her belt and so has a shot at the grand slam. The usual elders, second-seeded Martina Navraulova, 31, and third-seeded Chris Evert, 33. will be standing in the teenagers' way, although Evert has a worrisome foot injury.

She had to withdraw from Rome after the second round because of a heel spur in her right foot. "I have to get treatment every day," said Evert. "I hope it will hold up."

Event has won the French Open seven times, more than any man or woman in history, the last time two years ago. She and Navratilova find themselves in the same half of the draw. Connors is missing the tournament because of a continuing foot problem that was aggravated in an exhibition match a few weeks ago. Other top players who bowed out due to injury are Miroslav Mecir of Czechoslovakia (back). Brad Gilbert of the U.S. (ankle) and American Eliot Teltscher (eye). Pam Shriver, currently ranked third in the world, is not playing singles

 Williamson, 1-2.5v-Jockson (1), His-Son-Yankces 2, Athletics 0: In New Ork, John Candelaria pitched a wo-hitter, striking out 13, and Jack
 Williamson, 1-2.5v-Jockson (1), His-Son-tor, John Candelaria pitched a wo-hitter, striking out 13, and Jack
 Inst. 1-2.5v-Jockson (1), His-Son-tor, John Candelaria pitched a torong, Robinson (7), Hennemon (9) and Sitter 10 and Kortzwick W-Tomon, 24 Loss Davis (3), Long (6)
 Chicopo Marris, Hermondez (8), Hennemon (8) and Soles, W-Morris, 4-5, L-Bittleer, 0-1, Sv-Soles, W-Morris, 4-5, Loss Hitter, 0-1, Sv-betroit (1), Hitter 10 and Heath, Nokes [5]; Russ, Davis (3), Long (6)
 Inst. 4: St. Willer, Balt Milliomson, 12: V-More 10, Long

 York, John Candelaria pitched a two-hitter, striking out 13, and Jack Heath, Nokes [5]) Reuss, Davis (3), Long (6) and Karkovice, W—Tanana, 7-2, L—Reuss, 2-2, HR—Defroit, Transmell (7). Clark hit a two-run homer in the fourth as the Yankees beat Oak-Ockland New York land to take two of three games in

Citeveland 600 all 200-3 0 6 Kansus City 600 all 2012-6 9 Forrell and Alkanson; Gubicas Farr (9) and Machiners, W-Sakicas Sci. E-Farrell +3.5w-Forr (2), HR-Cleveland, Snyder 19). 800 ani 200\_2 h a C.Young, 3-2, Sv---Righ Seattle Baltizoare Bankhead, Powell (7), Konsos City, White 121. 111 909 000-3 7 7

Toronto 661 890 900-1 7 0 Clancy, Wells (7) and Whilt; Wegman, Mir-abelia (3), Crim 181 and Surhoff, W-Clancy, 24 L-Wegman, 4-5, Sv-Wells 121, HR-To-Clev to at Taxas, ppd., rain)

NATIONAL LEAGUE

to 100 001 510-3 9 ) urgit 303 300 Mix-10 10 9 vine, Elchelberger (4), Alvarez (8) and lone )11. Mignesoto Texas 200 000 )8x-3 Biyleven and Laudiner ; Kilgus and Sta and Drtiz. W-Dunne, Atlania, Thomas (3). 802 600 600-2 5 1 942 608 16x-7 12 8 Virg)1: Dunne, Gott 16) and Drtiz. W-2-2, L—Lovine, 1-4. HR—Atlania, The Incuvisilia 110). Sutcitife, Londrum 131, OIPine 17) and Ber-ryhili Sola and McGriff. W-Sola 32 L-Sutcitife, 34, HRS-Chicago, Grace 12). Cin-cinneth, O'Neili 121, Taranto 000 aut 11 6 Aliversite 000 000 000-6 9 2 Sileb and Whitt; Basia and Surhaft. W-Steb. 6-3. L-Basia, 6-4. Su-Henke 10). HR-Toranto, Massby 16]. NATIONAL LEAGUE 100 000 103-5 12 4 000 000 021-3 8 3

Hooston St. Leals Knepper, Smith (9) and Trevino: McWil Son Francisco 896 089 009-0 2 2 Yournans and Reed: Reuschelt, Rubinson 17. Bockus 191 and Mehrik, W-Yournans, 1-3. L-Reuschel, 5-3. HR-Manhrad, Galarrappo 19. Noms, Terry 1711, Worrell (9) and Peters 191. W—Knepper, 6-0. L—Terry, 2-2. Sv-Smith 
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Polimer, Badrasion (di. Harris (7), Tekuive
19 and Parrish; Howkins, Davis 17) and Santiosc. W—Davis, 21, L.—Tekuive, 14, HRs.—Philosc. W—Davis, 21, L.—Tekuive, 14, HRs.—PhilNosc. W—Davis, 21, L.—Tekuive, 14, HRs.—PhilN ith. Parrett 16), McClure (7) and Santavenu; LoCoss, Homoker III), Letterts 191 and

BASKETBALL **NBA Playoffs** 

FRIDAY'S RESULT 32 24 25 19-102 30 27 21 22-100 

SATURDAY'S RESULT

Lak Lakets 22 13 38 22-109 Scott 12-19 4-329, Worthy 7-179-11 23, Johnson 9-1554 22: Malore 14-31 37-31, Stockton 10-155 8 29, Rebounds: Unoh 38 IMolone 151. Los Angeles 49 [Johnson 9], Assisti: Urbh 31 IStockton 20), Los Angeles 23 Jahnson 10).

**Playoff Schedule** 

EASTERN CONFERENCE		w	L
Semifiquis	New York	26	ы
ston 110, Atlania 161	Cleveland	26	15
istan 108. Attanta 97	Detroli	25	15
tanta 110. Baston 92	Baston	21	17
lants 118, Boston 109	Allwoukee	20	20
tenta 112, Boston 104	Toronto	10	23
ston 102, Atlanta 100	Bollimore	7	34
ay 22: Aliania al Boston	West	Division	
		w	L
WESTERN CONFERENCE	Oaklana	29	12
Semifficals	Texos	21	10
s Angeles 110, Utoh 91	Konsas City	20	23
ah 161, Los Angeles 97	Chicogo	18	22
uh %, Los Angeles 87	Seattie	18	24
s Angeles 113, Ufan 100	Minnesolo	16	22
s Angeles 111. Utoh 109	California	17	25
oh 108. Los Angeles 🔍	NATION		
s Angeles 109, Utoh 98	Eest	Division	
nver 126, Oallas 115		W	L
ulos 112, Denver 100	New York	24	11
nver 107, Dallos 105	P)ftsburgh	25	10
dics 124, Denver 103	St. Louis	21	20
aligs 110, Denver 106	Chicago	19	21
likes 168, Denver 95	Monfreol	16	27
Finals	Philodelphio	)5	23
ay 23; Dallas of Los Angeles	Wes?	Division	
ny 25: Dollas at Los Angeles,		W	1
av 27; Los Angeles at Dalias	Houston	23	16
ry 29: Los Angeles of Dollos	Los Angelos	22	10
May 31; Dalles al Los Angeles	Cincinneti	23	20
une 2: Los Angoles al Dallas	Sen Frencisco	31	21
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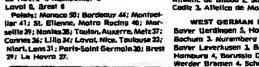
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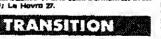
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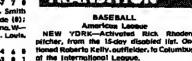








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sional. It was a great relation-

The two met when their mutual

agents, Walter Morris Inc., ar-

ranged a marriage of conve-

nience. Regan said it seemed pos-

sible because Charles had the

experience of working with Haig.

"So my personality - if it is abra-

sive, which I quickly deny - so

working with a temperament -

you understand I say tempera-

ment, oot temper - would not be

"We liked each other. And we

enjoyed working together. We

could use witticism, literary allu-

sions, even, if you will, Latin phrases with each other."

"I'm very proud of these books," McCarry says of the po-

litical memoirs. "But Haig and

Regan didn't oeed anyone to in-

vent them. They have lived well-

documented lives. My joh was to

spy Paul Christopher is asked by a fellow agen1 about an "autobiog-

raphy" he had written for a for-

topher replies, "Most of the anec-

dotes were true as he told them to

me. I just put in the parts where

he had deep, deep thoughts." The Geographic's editor in chief, Wilbur Garrett, suggests

that Haig and Regan chose McCarry for such a confidential

association "because they trust

"He wanted my trust, why didn't he give me his?" says Ralph

Nader, the subject of McCarry'a first published confiction book.

"Citizen Nader." Nader com-

plains that McCarry gave him his

biography manuscript to check before it was published, but then

en McCarry for not telling him he

Not everybody does.

new to him.

# The Spy Who Ghosted Donald Regan

By Sarah Booth Conroy

WASHINGTON - Covelist, magazine editor and former spy -swirls a cloak of words around a dagger of disclaimers when asked about his collaboration with Donald T. Regan on the latest book of Reagan administration revela-

After all, says McCarry. "It's Regan's letter to the world."

Yet one publishing industry source says McCarry's name on the contract was the reason Harcourt Brace Jovanovich was willing to pay a \$1 million advance. "Let's face it," says Regan. "They liked the fact that Charles was associated with me."

So who is Charles McCarry? "You might call me the Lon Chaney of 20th-century American literature," he whispers, in one of his customary asides.

He is apparently the only writer to work with two Reagan administration rejects — the other was Alexander M. Haig Jr. To the genre of the political memoirist shooting arrows from exile, McCarry hrings something new: the romanoc style of the suspense novelist.

He is the author of six oovels that tell of sex both sultry and sensitive, of election manipulation by electronics and terrorists, of the anguish of honorable men and lonely women, of invisible enterprises full of visible vices. "The Bride of the Wilderness," his forthcoming novel, will add the London plague and Indian warfare.

He has also written three nonfiction books, the first a hiography of Ralph Nader. He is the first and only editor-at-large at the National Geographic. He is currently writing a retrospective of the magazine's history, the Sep-

tember cover story. Of his work with Regan and his similar assistance to Haig in 1984. McCarry says: "I'd prefer for our relationship to remain entirely confidential. I didn't want any credit, but at the last minute, they insisted on listing me in the ac-knowledgments. Which is fine."

He contemplates the furor over "For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington" from his Geographic sanctuary. He says

books - even his own novels end with the corrections on the Washington Post Service end with the corrections on the ASHINGTON — Charles galleys. No author tours. No latenight TV. He loathes and rarely grants

interviews. His picture is never on the back of his novels.

McCarry - whose wife reads him his horoscope every morning at breakfast - is perhaps best known for his oovel "The Tears of Autumn," in which the Kennedy assassination is arranged with astrological consultation as retaliation by the Vietnamese family of Diem and Nhu.

He has a string of readers as loyal as if they'd signed pledges in blood. Otto Penzler, owner of The Mysterious Press, once said he'd kill to meet McCarry, and in Penzler'a Mysterious Book Shop io New York, a secondhaod McCarty — original price \$7.95 - might set you back \$50.

Still, McCarry has oever had an American hest seller, thoogh "Tears of Autumn" was one in Britain and France. His paperbacks, however, are reprinted regularly A screenplay for "The Miernik Dossier" is looking for a producer, and his fans are betting "Bride of the Wildeness" may make at least a TV mini-series.

So why would he take time to work on someone else's book? McCarry agrees with Samuel Johnson: "No man hut a blockhead ever wrote except for moo-ey. Remember, I've put four sons through college. I've written for money all my life. There's a kind of certification that comes from a check that's very important to every writer - far more important than celebrity."

But surely it's more than that. What oovelist - especially a writer of suspense novels, books doors that open." McCarry calls "oovels of political intelligence" - could resist the temptatioo to go behind the face of power and live in someone else's hrain? What novelist could resist a chance to learn, if oot the truth about events that rock nations, at least what two powerful poliocians wish to present as the verides?

"It's a writer's instinct to accept experience when offered jumping off a 20-foot cliff into three feet of water when you're 14; joining the CIA at 28. I remember having a Pernod drink-

The Was McCarry, the collaborator on Regan's book of revelations. Disregarding the danger of ap-I lost count at 27 glasses. 1 was 20 pearing later, even deeply dis-guised in a McCarry novel, why years old. I thought that I was going to die. It's a wonder I didn't. I won't do that again. I would Don Regan, proud of his

books I see occasionally something I recognize, a character or a name he inserts in a bit of mischief. J think that Charles's worldly experience during the years with us gave him some approach might help explain how a suspense novelist assists the polit-McCarry himself says, "When I

don't have to. I know what those things are like. You can't design your life. You can go through the than 1,000 pages of typescript He makes no apology for learn-ing on the job and in life. An old

friend who knew McCarry's CIA work well says, "When I read his White House, Charles McCarry

ical memoirist, and vice versa." do put in something that is absolutely authentic, that's most likely take their draft and say. This is very interesting. But what hap-pened here? What did they say? "It's a circuit. It comes from the other person and you give it back, But it has to originate with the author. Those guys are the author." McCarry's fictional writer and

eign agent who was an Asian political figure: "How much of Ripsaw's autobiography actually happened in his life?" And Chris-

degree in literature, his other book on Wall Street and his more

about his Reagan years want the help of Charles McCarry? Regao, in "The Record," writes, rather amhiguously: When, only weeks after I left the

agreed to help me organize my experiences and materials into a book, he stipulated that he wanted no credit or acknowledgment of any kind in return for his ef- didn't make the changes Nader forts. I am overruling his wishes wanted. And he still hasn't forgivin saying that no finer person could have been found for this had once worked for the CIA. exercise. In the face of my enthu-"He never asked me," retorts exercise. In the face of my enthu-

siasms and occasional doubts he McCarry. "I also never told him I

## Ammunition on 'Cannon Fodder'

LANGUAGE

By William Safire

WASHINGTON - When George Bush was asked whether the "sleaze factor" was a political liability in his campaign, he came back aggressively with "I think the Democrats are trying to make it that, but we will have some fun too. . . . You know, we've got some cannon fodder, if you want to get into that." The vice president could not have meant cannon fodder. His unfortunate choice of that phrase reveals the same tin ear for colloquialism that he showed when responding to an offer of more coffee in a meeting with truck drivers. ("Just a splash," he said cordially, extending his cup; what most native speakers would say is fill it up or heat this up for me. The locution just a splash is far more often used to request a little water in a whisky oo the rocks.)

Cannon fodder has its roots in "food for powder" in Shakespeare's "Henry IV, Part One"; to Prince Hal's taunt that his recruits are pitiful rascals, Falstaff replies. Tut, tut; good enough to toss; food for powder, food for powder; they'll fill a pit as well as

castigated Peter the Great in 1898 for "regarding children as future cannon fodder."

In World War I (which was oot then called "World War L," of course), the bitter phrase referred to young, inexperienced infantrymen sent into battle likely to suffer many casualties with little hope of winning.

From the context of his remark, it appears that Bush meant to say grist for the mill or ammunition in its metaphoric extension; he was misled by the remote relationship of ammunition, the inaminate material used against an enemy, to cannon folder, the human material wasted against an enemy.

AT a clandestine meeting of the Attention-Getting Headline Writers Society, the subject of Michael Dukakis was discussed in detail.

What phrases playing on the candidate's Greek background can we expect in coming months? What lines will run across the corner of newsmagazines to titillate our curiosity, replacing the tried-and-true "Crisis of Confidence"? Here is the first cut of the Headline Writers Society's list of references for Dukakis stories.

Greek to Me, Voters Say is to be used whenever pollsters find that the candidate addresses complex mes without sufficient oversimplification.

This saying is from Act I, Scene 2, of Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar," After reporting that Cicero commented in Greek on Caesar's refusal of a crown, Casca tells Cassius that "those that understood him smil'd at one another, and shook their heads; but for mine own part, it was Greek to me."

Greek Tragedy will be used whenever a minor mishap befalls the campaign. This refers to the period in the fifth century B.C. in which Greek drama (stories about behind-the-scenes staff battles will he headed Greek Drama) flourished in Athens. Secondary allusions to Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides will be found in subheads or the text of the story, but the headscribes were warned to stay away from Aristoph- Safire's Rule on Who-Whom: whenever whom sounds

found in the Dukakis closet, or some fact surfaces that had been long hidden, it may be described as an Attic Tragedy, but few readers will catch the double meaning).

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Small Latin and Less Greek will be held for stories. about the Dukakis position on Central America. It's from Ben Jonson's comment on Shakespeare's learning, in the competing playwright's posthutious poetic tribute for the First Folio of 1623: "And though thou hadst small Latine, and lesse Greeke."

Greek Fire is a sure-fire headline for any Dukakis appearance in which the candidate becomes impassioned. Greek fire was an incendiary mixture of materials in ancient and medieval warfare; it was primarily used by the Greeks of Byzantium. The mixture's composition is unknown, but was said to have burst into flames upon wetting; if the candidate becomes infuriated after being inundated at a rainy rally, this phrase is almost certain to be used.

Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts will be the standard Republican riposte to acy promises of new entitlements.

In 1891, the Oxford English Dictionary first used cannon fodder, defining it in its first Supplement as "men regarded merely as material to be consumed in war," as if food for the cannon. George Bernard Shaw castigated Peter the Great in 1893 for "mendian" and the fall of Troy. After having besieged Troy for more than nine years because their admired Helen was. a captive there, the Greeks pretended to abandon their quest and left the Trojans a "gift" of a wooden horse, once the horse was taken within the walls of Troj. Greek soldiers poured out of its hollow interior and destroyed the city.

The Latin line Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis is translated as "Whatever it is, I fear Greeks even when they bear gifts." Greeks bearing gifts is now a phrase recalling "enemy infiltration" and is an imputation of treachery or trickiness.

Because Governor Dukakis stands 5 feet 8 inches tall, and Vice President Bush is 6 feet 2 inches, cruel Republicans are already playing on the ancient phrase with "Beware of Greeks wearing lifts." Dukakis, not noted for his skill with one-liners, has responded with "My opponent is the only candidate who ever had a league named after him." The Headscribe Gang is ecstatic: It's going to be a rough campaign.

"To whomever receives this message," I wrote recently in The New York Times, thereby com the gravest of solecisms to the Who-Whom Owls Between editions, Allan M. Siegal, an assistant man iging editor to whom I forward dozens of corrections ddressed to me but meant for others, called in the change: whoever. In the final edition, preserved for historians, I was thus saved from embarrassment. Look: I've never pretended to have a handle on who-

whom. In this case, as droves of members of the Gotcha! Gang have pointed out with their customary glee, I relied on what turned out to be my own tin car. In a phrase like to whom it may concern, the word

whom is the object of it may concern. But in to whoever receives this message, the pronoun whoever is the subject of the clause whoever receives this message and is not the object of the preposition to. Get it? I don't either. Let us resolve to follow

Is Past. Pi and the British Rame of the to correct, recast the sentence.

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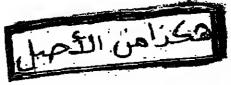
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